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To all who are working towards  
A New Organisation of Society . .

Of which Useful Labour must be The Surest Foundation  
... and ...

In which The People's Service will be the Highest Reward.

— \* —  
Ring Out a slowly dying cause  
And ancient forms of party strife ;  
Ring In the nobler modes of life,  
With sweeter manners, purer laws.  
—TENNYSON.

## ABOU BEN ADHEM AND THE ANGEL.

**A**BOU Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase)  
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,  
And saw, within the moonlight of his room,  
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,  
An angel, writing in a book of gold :  
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,  
And to the presence in the room he said,  
"What writest thou ?" The vision raised its head,  
And with a look made all of sweet accord  
Answered, "The names of those who love the Lord."

"And is mine one ?" said Abou. "Nay, not so,"  
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,  
But cheerily still ; and said, "I pray thee then,  
Write me as one who loves his fellow-men."  
The angel wrote and vanished. The next night  
It came again with a great wakening light,  
And showed the names whom love of God had blessed,  
And lo ! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest.

LEIGH HUNT.

Thirteenth Year of Issue.

# The Reformers' Year Book, 1907.

Formerly

**THE LABOUR ANNUAL.**

JOINT EDITORS

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE

and . .

JOSEPH EDWARDS.

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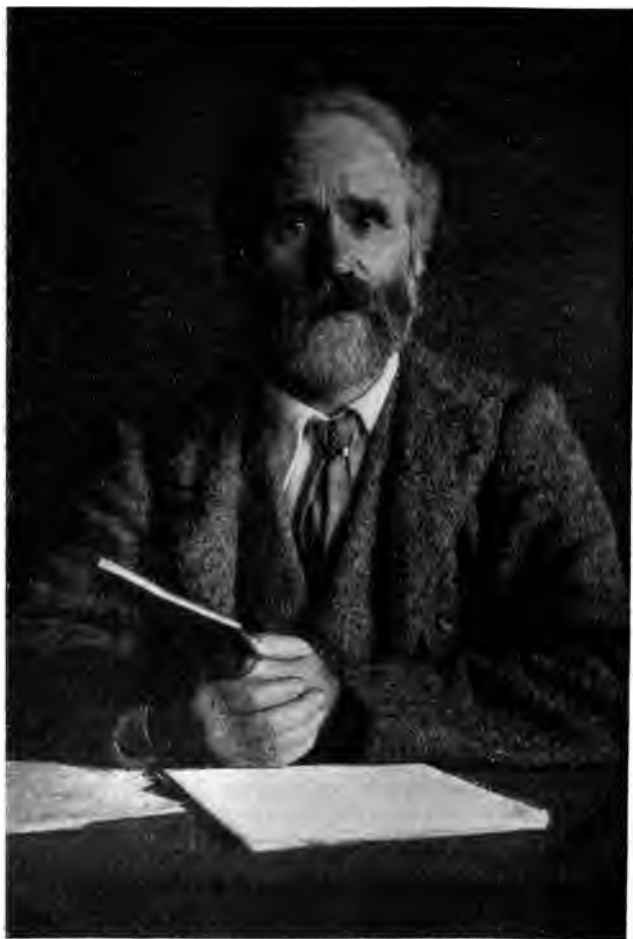
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**Chairman of the Labour Party.**

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## PREFACE.

**R**EFORMERS have had no need to look abroad during the year 1906 for events of first magnitude. For in the complete Tory débacle, in the formation of an influential and compact Labour Party, and in the birth of the Women's Revolution, they have had before them in this country movements of world-wide significance.

In the *Reformers' Year Book* for 1906 it was predicted that in the General Election the Conservative Party would receive an unprecedented beating at the polls, and that in addition to a solid section of Labour men a huge majority of Liberals, good, bad, and indifferent, would be returned to Parliament. The actual facts were that the Conservative Party was reduced from 369 to 157, losing over 200 seats. Labour (in the general sense) increased its numbers from 14 to 49, and in the place of but four Independents a solid section of 30 men pledged to support neither of the historic parties obtained places in the new House of Commons. Meanwhile the Liberals came back 381 strong, or with their Liberal-Labour allies a round 400, a majority of 130 over all other sections of the House.

The history of the Session of Parliament given in detail on pages 63-75 has been the history of the failure and political cowardice of the Liberal Party, and has indisputably demonstrated that though there are within its ranks some able and conscientious men, the vast majority are indifferent, and not a few actively opposed, to any real reform.

The Liberal Government has failed entirely to justify the confidence reposed in it by the electorate, not only upon the newer questions as they have arisen, such as the war in Natal, but on the very matters upon which it was returned to power, of which the chief was the continuance of Chinese Labour in the Transvaal.

Nor has the record of individual members of the party, in general, been more satisfactory. A few, on occasion, have been found to be willing to vote against the Government in defence of their principles; but for the most part they have been content to take the official view not only inside the House but also outside, as in the case of their cowardly abandonment at the twelfth hour of the deputation to the Duma, in spite of the expressed wish of their friends in Russia.

The sands of the Liberal Party, with its great historic traditions, are running out. Reformers call upon it in vain for enthusiasm or for action. Its inspiration is gone. One by one its compeers on the Continent are dying. It cannot long survive.

To the Socialist Party we look to take its place. Already in many of the municipal elections the line of cleavage is between Socialist and anti-Socialist candidates. Already in the General Election a vote of 275,000 was given in favour of declared Socialists, being over half the total vote given for the Labour candidates of all kinds. (See p. 60). Already in the House of Commons the Independent Labour Party, with its strong Socialist leanings, has achieved remarkable success. Already it has compelled the attention and the strenuous opposition of the Forces of Reaction. At present it is but 30 strong, but under

the wise guidance of its Leader, Keir Hardie, it has taken to its province the whole range of true reform. In so doing it will recruit adherents from those outside. But none are wanted within its ranks except those who believe in sex equality, who are not afraid of action, who set principle above expediency, men above money, and the common weal above the sordid traditions of political and commercial life.

\* \* \*

The great new inspiration of the year has been the Women's Movement, which having lain dormant for 20 years is at the present time in the forefront of British politics. What was accounted in November, 1905, a dull subject, to which no newspaper would refer, to-day receives constant and careful attention in the Press. Where a year ago a meeting of a score of people was difficult to obtain, to-day crowds of several thousands gather to listen. Where women in 1905 were without hope, to-day they are full of enthusiasm and the assurance of victory.

This extraordinary change is due to the genius of one woman, who while still a student at college originated a plan of campaign which has shaken the foundations of the political world. What Miss Christabel Pankhurst deliberately planned in the autumn of 1905, she and a band of loyal women have carried out during 1906. With fearless courage they have set the ordinary conventions at defiance, and being all women of the highest personal character and reputation they have taken upon themselves the mantle of breakers of the law in order that women throughout the country might see and understand and rally to their standard. Knowing that suffering is the only ultimate test of sincerity, they have dared to go to prison for an idea—the idea of the political enfranchisement of women.

Their sacrifice has not been in vain. With each succeeding imprisonment their methods have been more and more clearly understood, and with each demonstration they have won a larger number of adherents to their cause. The old method of simply ignoring the question that succeeded so long is now for the first time of no avail. Men and women have been forced to take sides. The Government have been called upon not merely for pious opinions, but for a categorical pledge and until that pledge is given it will find itself ruthlessly opposed in every conceivable manner. Success is certain. In 1907, if the Government are wise, the vote will be accorded to women in this country. If they are unwise, it will be won in spite of their opposition, and will be the cause of their downfall.

That achievement alone would be a political victory of prime importance. but the agitation, because it is far deeper and far wider than that, is a veritable revolution. Woman for the first time in history claims the right to be herself, to express her own thought, to take her share in moulding the destiny of the race. Once determined upon this course no power can stop her achievement. Sex subjection like class subjection must disappear not only in this country but in every country of the world. Liberty must take the place of domination. And where one sex alone has down the ages claimed the predominance, in future man and woman co-equal shall attain to perfect communion.

A brief epitome may be given of the principal events in other lands. In Russia a kind of guerilla warfare has been waged during the year between the Government and the people, with massacre and brutality on the one side, and assassination on the other. The Duma, into whose portals only a few un-arrested stalwarts had succeeded in obtaining an entrance, proved itself, unlike the French National Assembly in 1789, unable to resist its own dismissal. To-day the bankruptcy of the Government is the principal hope of the people; and the duty of friends in other countries is to prevent the financiers from giving fresh loans to the bureaucracy, loans which in the ultimate triumph of the revolution will be rightly repudiated.

In Persia and in China promises have been made during the year that the reign of Absolutism is over and Constitutionalism shall begin. In India there have been signs of the gradual awakening into self-consciousness, as a nation of a people hitherto divided into a hundred sections.

In the Transvaal there has been a reunion of the British and the Dutch against the cosmopolitan financier. Chinese Labour has been shown up in all its naked hideousness, and there is a real hope that the first elected House will bring about its termination. In Natal a flimsy pretext has been made the excuse for a massacre of several thousand Zulus, and the revengeful punishment of others; and but for the action of a few determined men in this country wholesale spoilation of the natives would have taken place.

To all true reformers, the tyranny of class, the tyranny of sex, the tyranny of race, are alike an abomination. Against these three enemies they have fought and must continue to fight, until perfect liberty prevails. It is in the hope of assisting in this threefold fight that this book is published. The editors commend to the special attention of their readers the section dealing with the Women's Movement, which they believe to be a unique account of the doings during 1906, with biographical notices of the principal women concerned. They would also direct attention to the section dealing with the analysis of the General Election and with The Session of Parliament, and also to those on Local Government, Temperance, and Some Urgent Reforms. The directories have been prepared with special care, accuracy having been assured by a personal canvass. They believe that the Press directories, directories of Reformers and of Reform Societies, of Trade Unions and Trades Councils, and the list of M.P.'s, with their private addresses, will be found of special value.\* To all those who have assisted them in the production of the work they tender their most grateful thanks.

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

4, Clement's Inn, W.C.,  
November, 1906.

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\* They will be glad to be informed of any corrections or alterations, and these should be sent direct to the Editor, *The Reformers' Year Book*, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C., before September 30th, 1907, for inclusion in the 1908 issue.

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Extracted from the return of Jas. Carter Boro' Treas. of Preston, issued November, 1906.

	Markets.	Gas.	Water.	Electric Light.	Tram-ways.	Fstates and other Sources.	Total Profits.	Amount in £ rates reduced by.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.
Ashton-under-Lyne.....	1,161	—	860	1,550	—	—	3,571	0 5½
Barrow-in-Furness.....	—	5,750	—	—	—	1,500	7,250	0 6½
Bolton.....	1,600	15,500	—	5,400	4,000	1,860	28,360	0 9½
Brighouse.....	—	3,000	—	—	—	—	3,000	0 10
Bath.....	185	—	1,000	—	—	10,500	11,685	0 9½
Bacup.....	367	—	—	—	—	869	1,236	0 4
Birkenhead.....	—	7,000	3,000	—	—	—	10,000	0 4
Belfast.....	5,770	25,200	—	—	8,900	—	39,870	0 8
Blackpool.....	300	14,000	—	4,000	4,000	—	22,300	1 0
Bradford.....	3,573	5,000	—	—	10,000	—	18,573	0 3½
Burton-on-Trent.....	147	6,500	—	—	—	—	6,647	0 5½
Burnley.....	805	11,050	—	3,015	—	100	14,870	0 10½
Bury.....	176	3,000	—	1,000	5 10	892	5,668	0 6
Bristol.....	2,206	—	—	—	—	21,756	23,962	0 3½
Carlisle.....	—	7,050	7,557	—	—	4,505	19,112	1 10
Chester.....	1,242	—	—	850	—	2,127	4,219	0 5½
Coventry.....	—	2,000	4,000	—	—	1,000	7,000	0 6½
Darlington.....	95	4,000	6,300	1,850	—	—	12,245	1 2½
Derby.....	2,177	—	—	—	—	8,753	10,930	0 5
Dewsbury.....	250	5,406	—	500	—	—	6,216	1 0
Exeter.....	300	—	1,000	—	—	3,050	4,350	0 4
East Ham.....	—	—	—	—	7,020	—	7,020	0 4
Halifax.....	—	8,479	—	5,057	4,000	—	17,536	0 9½
Hastings.....	207	—	756	—	—	5,809	6,772	0 4
Heywood.....	150	1,500	—	—	—	—	1,650	0 4½
King's Lynn.....	926	—	—	—	—	2,643	3,569	0 10½
Kingston-upon-Hull.....	3,197	—	6,000	—	10,000	29,739	48,936	0 10
Lancaster.....	—	2,000	4,852	—	—	2,698	9,550	0 11½
Leicester.....	3,182	30,000	—	—	—	18,107	51,279	1 1
Leeds.....	972	15,000	11,000	—	48,000	—	74,972	0 8½
Liverpool.....	12,720	—	—	19,740	25,320	106,301	164,081	1 0
Lincoln.....	—	4,000	—	—	—	3,475	7,475	0 8
Macclesfield.....	—	5,729	639	—	—	114	6,482	1 5½
Manchester.....	1,065	68,898	—	—	55,000	—	124,963	0 8
Norwich.....	2,168	—	—	—	—	1,980	4,148	0 2½
Nottingham.....	6,138	19,493	—	10,000	15,000	14,218	64,849	1 3
Nelson.....	184	2,987	824	—	—	—	3,995	0 7½
Oldham.....	3,202	7,307	—	—	—	1,943	12,452	0 7
Oxford.....	1,415	—	5,376	—	—	5,430	12,221	0 8
Portsmouth.....	400	—	—	3,500	3,500	4,800	12,200	0 3½
Plymouth.....	1,330	—	3,707	—	—	4,217	9,254	0 4½
Preston.....	2,872	—	—	—	—	8,164	11,036	0 7
Reading.....	1,020	—	1,400	—	300	1,840	4,560	0 2½
Rochdale.....	—	17,693	—	2,350	—	—	20,043	1 3
Rotherham.....	—	5,215	—	—	—	—	5,215	0 7
Salford.....	—	20,000	2,800	8,000	13,000	—	43,800	1 0
Southampton.....	283	—	—	—	—	4,740	5,023	1 2½
Stockport.....	—	12,322	—	2,000	2,500	4,474	21,296	1 3½
Stockton-on-Tees.....	2,000	6,305	—	—	—	—	8,305	0 9
Southport.....	826	13,000	—	2,750	—	—	16,576	0 11½
St. Helens.....	1,489	5,000	—	—	—	—	6,489	0 4½
Swansea.....	2,256	—	—	350	—	10,925	13,531	0 8
Stalybridge.....	11	2,802	—	—	—	68	2,879	0 7
Warrington.....	2,500	14,180	—	—	—	—	16,680	1 7½
West Bromwich.....	—	1,365	—	800	—	—	2,165	0 3
Walsall.....	500	5,500	—	—	—	1,000	7,000	0 7½
Wigan.....	560	4,250	—	—	—	1,200	6,000	0 5
Widnes.....	—	1,915	—	—	—	—	1,915	0 3½
Wolverhampton.....	4,205	—	—	1,414	—	—	5,619	0 4
York.....	1,790	—	—	—	—	2,080	3,850	0 2½

In addition to the above 60 towns, there are 20 towns which similarly relieve rates by 2d. in the £, or less.

# CHRONOLOGY, 1905-6.

(For *Parliamentary Chronology* see page 69).

## DECEMBER, 1905.

4. Mr. Balfour resigns Premiership : Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman invited to form a Cabinet.  
Meetings of the Unemployed in the City.
5. Charing Cross Railway Station disaster.  
"C.-B." accepts the King's commission to form a Cabinet.  
President Roosevelt's Message to Congress : Proposals to check Trusts.
6. Slaughter of citizens at Kieff.
8. Mr. Balfour's "Honours List" published.  
Russian workmen withdraw their money from the savings banks.
11. Publication of names of new Liberal Ministry.  
Mr. Balfour explains at Manchester why he resigned.  
Mr. Lyttelton replies to allegations of flogging on the Rand.
13. Deputation of Unemployed to "C.-B." and John Burns.
16. Wholesale arrest of the Committee of Russian Labour Unions.
17. Unemployed march to St. Paul's.
18. Moscow soldiers condemn Government for war and soldiers' sufferings.
19. Salvation Army receives £100,000 for home colonisation.  
The Russian Union of Unions advocates a general strike.
20. General strike begins at Moscow.
21. Government programme expounded at Albert Hall.
22. John Burns receives deputation of Unemployed.
24. Fighting in Moscow Streets.
25. More fighting in Moscow ; 15,000 killed and wounded.
29. Moscow strike ends.  
Thomas Burt, M.P., created a Privy Councillor.

## JANUARY, 1906.

2. Westminster City Councillors entertained by Paris confrères.
5. Mr. Balfour opens his campaign.
6. Publication of figures of exports and imports for 1905.
8. Dissolution of Parliament.
12. General Election commences.
13. Mr. Balfour defeated ; Unionists lose all Manchester and Salford seats.  
First Labour gains, viz. : Bradford W., Halifax, Manchester N.E., Manchester S.W.
18. Riots at Hamburg : Demonstration against the Government Franchise Bill.
19. Central Unemployed Committee report provision of work for 1,036 men.
20. Russian Constitutional Congress decides to take part in the elections to the Duma.
21. Monster demonstrations of Social Democrats in Germany.
25. Tsar's advisers oppose his scheme for a constitutional Government.
26. Count Buelow, in the Prussian Diet, declares war against "The Revolutionary Social Democracy."
27. Annual Conference of the Scottish Workers' Representation Committee at Brechin.
30. Conference of the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women.

**FEBRUARY.**

5. L.C.C. members' visit to Paris.
10. Return of the L.C.C. members from the entente municipale.
12. First meeting, Labour Party at Commons : Keir Hardie chosen Leader.
13. Parliament meets : Members sworn in.
14. Postmaster-General issues circular on right of combination.
15. Labour Party Conference at Memorial Hall.
16. T.U. Deputation to the Board of Trade on Housing.  
Labour Party's Demonstration at Queen's Hall.
17. Labour Party's Conference concluded.  
Important test case at Newport : Miners' levy for parliamentary purposes.
19. Women's Suffrage Demonstration at Caxton Hall.
20. Report of Royal Commission on Trades Disputes, &c., issued.  
Land Values Conference at Westminster.
21. Miners' Deputation to Chancellor of the Exchequer on Coal Tax.  
General Booth at Whitehall Rooms on his Emigration Plans.  
Central Poor Law Conference in London.  
"Right to Work" demonstration at Queen's Hall.  
Mass meeting of Postal Telegraph Clerks, Memorial Hall, E.C.
22. Conference of Miners at Westminster on the Coal Tax.  
T.U. Congress Deputation to the Admiralty on wages.
23. Deputations to the Postmaster-General on sweating contracts.
26. Municipal and rating authorities' deputation to Government on land values.
28. Dundee mill workers strike.
28. Conference on Technical Education at Guildhall : Apprenticeship question.  
Highland Crofters' Land Raid.  
First electric tram run over the Thames at Kingston.

**MARCH.**

2. Women Suffragists' attempt to see Prime Minister at Downing Street.  
French Miners' strike, Neuves Maisons.
5. International Socialist meeting in Brussels.  
Annual Conference of United Government Workers' Federation.
8. Publication of Census of the Empire.
9. Women Suffragists' deputation to the Premier. Three arrests.
10. Terrible mine disaster near Lille ; 1,219 lives lost.
13. Meeting of the South Wales Miners' Federation at Cardiff.
15. Conference of Telegraph Clerks at Birmingham. (Two days.)
16. Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P., to retire.  
Garden City Conference in London : Speech by Mr. Bryce.  
French Miners' strike in Courrieres District.
18. Preliminary elections for the Russian Duma : Workers' boycott declared.
19. French strike spreads : 46,000 miners out.  
German Government introduce a Suffrage Reform Bill.
20. French strikers refuse masters' terms : Riot at Lens.
26. Strike of London motor omnibus drivers.
28. Warsaw workmen refuse to vote for the State Duma.  
American coal dispute : Owners and miners disagree.
29. Resignation of Natal Ministry : Statement in Parliament.
30. Natal crisis : Executions of natives proceeded with.
31. German Imperial Ministry agrees to payment of members.  
Canadian Labour Party organise a movement.  
500,000 American coal workers cease work.

**APRIL.**

2. Prussian Diet rejects motion for universal suffrage.
1. Courrieres disaster : Company's responsibility debated in Chamber.  
Miners' wives cause riots at Lens.
- Keir Hardie entertains Labour Party and friends at dinner in House.
- Conference of Labour M.P.'s on Old-age Pensions.
1. Hungarian crisis. Government by absolutism abandoned.
1. Commonwealth Royal Commission on Old-age Pensions reports.
- Postmen strike in Paris : 1,000 men leave work.
1. Paris strike : 5,000 out. Government guard offices with troops.
- Great Labour Demonstration in Johannesburg.
- Social Democratic Federation Conference at Bradford.
1. Victorian Labour Conference at Melbourne.
- French postmen's strike ends.
1. Australian Labour Party and Tobacco Trust : Commission report.
- Opening of I.L.P. Conference. J. R. Macdonald, M.P., elected chairman of party.
- Labour M.P.s visit Lens.
- American Federation of Labour meets at Washington.
- Result of Cotton Operatives' ballot : 25,441 for striking, 212 against.
- Natal outbreak : Natal Reserves called out.
- Deputation of German workers arrives in London.
- Women Suffragists : Scene in the Ladies' Gallery of the Commons.
- Scottish Trade Union Congress meets at Greenock. (Three days.)
- Cotton dispute settled.
- Coal dispute in America : Mob fired on at Mount Carmel.
- Hungarian elections : Success of the Kossuth Party.
- Austrian Cabinet resigns. Suffrage Bill falls.

**MAY.**

- Fighting in Paris : Workmen shot.
1. *Daily News* Sweating Exhibition opened.
- President Roosevelt and Oil Trust : Message to Congress.
- American Coal Strike ends.
- French General Elections : Republicans victorious.
- 100,000 men on strike in Paris.
- Duma claims amnesty for political prisoners.
- Unemployed march to Hyde Park.
- Trade Union victory : Denaby Main Appeal dismissed by Lords.
1. Universal Suffrage Amendment to Duma Address rejected by Ministers.
7. Defeat of the Italian Cabinet.
8. Italian Ministry resigns.
- I.L.P. Demonstration at Queen's Hall on Education Bill.
- Strike amongst Irish spinners : Scenes in Belfast.
21. Taxation of Land Values : Conference at Westminster.
25. Royal Commission on Mines Acts appointed.
- Swedish Cabinet resigns on Suffrage Bill question.
26. Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' demonstration at Blackpool.
- "Vanguard" motor 'bus men strike for shorter hours and better pay.
- Duma demands resignation of Ministers.
9. Formation of new Cabinets in Italy and Sweden.
0. Women's Suffrage Question discussed by the London Chamber of Commerce
1. Beef Trust Exposure : Packers request that report shall not be published.
- Anarchist Outrage in Madrid at Royal Wedding.



## JUNE.

1. Colliery disaster in South Wales : Nine men injured.
2. Visit of English workmen to Paris.  
Opening of Co-operative Congress at Birmingham.
3. Six Rand coolies sentenced to death for murder.
4. Meat scandals : President's Message to Congress.
5. Annual Conference of the Boot and Shoe Operatives at Glasgow.  
Irish Trade Union Congress at Athlone.  
Miners' International Congress at Westminster.
7. Sir Edward Clarke, M.P., resigns seat.  
Mr. Seddon the guest of the Federal Labour Party.
13. National Peace Congress at Birmingham.  
Church of England Socialist League formed.  
National Conference on Infant Mortality at Westminster : Speech by John Burns, M.P.
14. Massacre of Jews at Bielostok.  
Meeting of Women's International Council at Versailles.  
Mr. Asquith at Northampton : Protest and ejection of Women Suffragists.
19. Labour and Liberal deputation to Prime Minister on Chinese labour.  
Annual Conference of Railway Women's Guild, Leicester.
20. Women's Co-operative Guild : Annual Conference at Ipswich.
21. Women's Suffragists arrested in Cavendish Square : Miss Billington fined £10, or, in default, two months, and goes to Holloway.  
Conference of National Women's Labour League at Leicester.
25. Mutiny at Batum : Artillerymen and engineers revolt.  
Cape Legislative Council unanimously condemns Chinese labour.
26. Russian Guards mutiny : Strike riot in St. Petersburg.
28. Issue of Joint Committee's Report (L.C.C.) on Underfed Children.

## JULY.

1. Women's Suffrage : Demonstration in Trafalgar Square.
2. Police and soldiers shot in Warsaw.  
48-hour week established in Royal Dockyards.
4. Miss Kenney, Mrs. Knight, and Mrs. Sparborough go to prison for 6 weeks.  
Lords' Committee pass L.C.C. Bill for Trams over Bridges.
5. Seventh annual meeting of Federation of T.U.s at Southampton.
10. Compulsory Weekly Holiday Bill passed by the French Chamber.
11. Northumberland miners' ballot : Majority for eight hours.
13. West Ham unemployed seize land at Plaistow.
14. Dreyfus convictions quashed by the Court : Promotion and decoration.  
The *Majority*, ½d. daily, ceases publication after five issues.  
Great American Coal strike ends.
15. Suffragist meeting at Boggart Hole Clough broken up by rowdies.
16. Socialist Inter-Parly. Confce Essex Hall : Reception of foreign M.P.'s.
17. Socialist Conference : Luncheon by Labour Party at the House : Dinner by the I.L.P.
19. Conclusion of Socialist Conference : Reception at Horticultural Hall.
20. Duma defies the Government on agrarian question.
21. Durham Miners' annual demonstration at Durham.  
Czar dismisses the Duma : St. Petersburg under arms.
23. Inter-Parliamentary Conference opens at Westminster.
26. Inter-Parliamentary Conference : Delegates received by the King.
28. Child labour : L.C.C.'s new code of regulations.

**AUGUST.**

1. Ex-members of Duma arrested : Meeting at Sveaborg.
4. Parliament adjourned until October 23rd.
10. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., leaves for Canada.
11. Women's Suffrage Congress at Copenhagen.
13. Miners and non-unionists difficulty : 12,000 give notice.  
Break-up of Triangle Camp, West Ham.  
Release of Miss Kenney, Mrs. Knight, and Mrs. Sparborough from Holloway.
15. Massacre of Jews at Warsaw.  
Keir Hardie's fiftieth birthday.
16. Leeds unemployed camp raided, and occupants evicted.
17. Miners' commence to ballot on affiliation with Labour Party.
20. 5,000 tailors and tailoresses meet to discuss grievances in London.
21. New Zealand Parliament opened.
22. Opening of National Co-operative Show at Crystal Palace.
25. Attempt to kill M. Stolypin, Russian Premier : over 50 killed and wounded.  
Nineteenth Co-operative Festival at the Crystal Palace.  
Master of Elibank on the Socialist Party.
29. East End Bakers' strike disturbances.
31. Russian mutineers at Sveaborg condemned to death.  
Land seized at Liverpool by unemployed.  
First meeting of Transvaal Independent Labour Party at Johannesburg.

**SEPTEMBER.**

1. Housing Conference at Liverpool.
3. Trade Union Congress opens at Liverpool.
3. Final shipment of coolies for the Rand leaves Hong Kong.  
Triangle Camp leaders sentenced for assault.
4. Trade Union Congress : President's address.
5. Women's T.U. League Conference at Liverpool.
8. Trade Union Congress concludes : Election of committee.
12. New ordinance regarding registration of Asiatics passed in Transvaal.  
Quarrymen's strike in Leicestershire : Families evicted.
15. Sudden death of General Trepoff.  
Opening of the Universal Peace Congress at Milan.
17. Workmen's Protection : International Conference at Berne.
18. Eleven Socialists elected to the Storting.  
Royal Commission on Vivisection appointed.
19. President Roosevelt extends Eight-hour Law.  
Success of Labour candidates in Natal election.
20. Labour, British and Dutch in Transvaal agree on anti-capitalist policy.
21. Danish elections : Social Democrats gain seats.
23. German Social Democrats' Conference at Mannheim.
24. Eighty Club in Hungary : Social legislation discussed.  
Repatriation of Chinese coolies begins.
25. Protection of workmen : Berne International Conference concludes.
26. Mid-Glamorgan contest : Miners instruct their executive to run candidate.
27. Legal protection of workers : Fourth International Conference at Geneva.
28. Miners' Executive refuse to run a Labour candidate in Mid-Glamorgan.
29. Strike of Clyde Boilermakers : 7,000 quit work.
30. Last batch of Chinese coolies landed in South Africa.

**OCTOBER.**

1. Railway Servants' Congress at Cardiff.
2. Annual Conference of Miners' Federation at Cardiff.
4. Alarming situation in Russia : Increased financial deficit. Miners refused to affiliate with Labour Party—92,220 for, 101,714 against.
5. Mr. Haldane and the Labour party ; speech at Peebles.
9. Many women candidates selected for Finnish Diet.
12. Second Ballot : Mr. Winston Churchill's speech at Glasgow. Mr. Lloyd George at Cardiff on the Labour Party.
13. Annual Meeting of the Scottish Women's Suffrage Association. Mr. Asquith receives a deputation on the Suffrage question at Ladybank.
15. Mr. Asquith on Liberalism and Socialism at Ladybank. Transvaal I.L.P. issues manifesto declaring war on the capitalists. J. R. Macdonald's enthusiastic reception at Sydney.
16. L.C.C. pass resolution in favour of women's election to County Council.
18. German Socialists financially support M. Jauré's paper, " L'Humanité." 11,000 Army tailoresses at Pimlico stop work on account of reductions.
19. Mass meeting of tailoresses ; reductions cancelled ; work resumed. French Cabinet resigns.
22. Opening of the first Norwegian Storthing. Viviani, ex-member of Socialist party, appointed to French Cabinet. National Union of Women Workers at Tunbridge Wells.
23. Parliament meets for the Autumn Session. Women's Suffragists at House of Commons : Ejected from Lobby, ten arrested.
24. National Anti-Sweating Conference at Guild Hall. Suffragists refusing to find sureties go to prison for two months. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst sentenced to 14 days for " disorder."
26. Keir Hardie's Jubilee : Celebrations in London.

**NOVEMBER.**

1. Council of Workmen's Delegates, St. Petersburg, deported to Siberia for life. Moderates gain at London Borough Elections. Considerable Conservative gains from Liberals in provinces. Labour holds its own. Clyde strike spreading : shipping trade threatened.
2. Mrs. Pankhurst interviews prisoners in Holloway gaol. Non-unionist agitation continues in South Wales : Men idle.
3. Women's Suffrage Society demonstrate in Trafalgar Square.
5. Serious mutiny in Portsmouth R.N. Barracks : 120 men arrested, 400 drafted away.
6. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst released from Holloway. C. E. Hughes, Republican, elected governor of New York State by 55,000 majority over Wm. Hearst, Democratic and Anti-Trust, on a poll of two millions. L.C.C. declares in favour of undertaking bulk supply of electricity for Metropolis.
7. First Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill moved by Keir Hardie and carried.
8. Publication L.G.B. Inspector's Report on Poplar Guardians.
9. Strike of London Motor Omnibus men.
13. 4,000 miners at Johannesburg denounce Chinese Labour.
17. End of Clyde Boilermakers strike.
19. Women Suffragists at House of Commons. Miss Milne arrested.

# OBITUARY.

The figures in brackets after names refer to previous issues of *Year Book*, in which biographies or portraits have appeared.

1905.

Dec. —. **Robert Jones Derfel**, of Manchester.

Member of Fabian Society; many years a constant writer on Socialism, especially in Welsh.

1906.

Jan. 5. **M. Dellar**, Gen. Sec., Op. Plasterers.

Distr. Sec., Manchester, for some years; elected Gen. Sec. in July, 1896. Lewisham Borough Councillor.

„ 14. **David Holmes**, Presdt. Burnley Weavers, 63.—Was a J.P., a Town Councillor, and formerly on School Board. In 1894 Vice-presdt. of Manchester International Congress. [Biog.: 1895.]

„ 22. **George Jacob Holyoake**, Co-operator and Rationalist, 88. [Biog.: 1896; Portr. 1897.]

„ 28. **W. F. Black**, Sub-ed. of *Labour Leader*, 51.

Formerly comp. with Dundee *Advertiser*; then contributor to *People's Journal*; sent as special Labour Commissioner to U.S., and later made sub-ed. Left to Join *Labour Leader*.

Feb. 3. **W. H. Griffiths**, veteran Manchester Socialist.

„ 15. **W. B. Hodgson**, of *Daily News*, 41. At time of death was writing series of articles in *Daily News* on "To Colonise England."

Mar. 15. **Roderick Stewart**, of Glasgow, 34.

Active speaker and, with his wife, worker for *Clarion* Scouts, I.L.P., and Sunday Schools.

„ 17. **Johann Mest**, revolutionist, 60.

„ 30. **John Andrew**, proprietor *Cotton Factory Times*, 56.

Founded *C. F. Times*, organ Lancs. Textile Workers in 1885 and *Yorks. Factory Times* in 1889. Also *Workman's Times*.

April 23. **John Ferguson**, Bailie of Glasgow, 70.—Elected Glasgow City Council in 1893. In 1897 carried Land Values Bill through Council, and induced Glasgow to take lead in organising local bodies on subject. [Biog.: 1895; portrait and notes, 1902.]

„ 25. **Ald. W. H. Wilkinson**, Gen. Sec., N. Counties' Weavers, 56.

May 18. **Mrs. Ada S. Ballin**, children's friend.—Student of child-life and successful advocate of reforms in care and feeding.

„ 20. **Mrs. George Jacob Holyoake**.

„ 30. **Michael Davitt**, Ireland's greatest Labour leader, 60.

June 9. **R. J. Seddon**, Premier of New Zealand. [Biog. and portr.: 1898.]

„ 26. **Budgett Meakin**, author, journalist, and lecturer, 40.

Wrote and spoke on Morocco. Shaftesbury Trust lecturer on Housing Reform, and a promoter of Brit. Inst. Social Service.

July 1. **Sir Wilfred Lawson**, temperance reformer and prohibitionist, 77.

„ 15. **A. J. Paton**, "Flying Scotsman" of *Clarion*; 40.

Aug. 13. **Pearl Teresa Craigie** ("John Oliver Hobbes"), 38.

„ 24. **G. Tomkinson**, Agent, Blastfurnacemen. T.C., Burslem; 43.

„ 30. **Lady Henry Campbell-Bannerman**.

Oct. 10. **Herbert Rix**, Early Socialist. Free Russia and Ethics; 55.

Nov. 6. **Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren**, Sister John Bright; Suffragist; 92.

# THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

## I.—THE LABOUR PARTY (30).

### BARNES, G. N.

GLASGOW (Blackfriars) (9,761).

Barnes (Lab.) .. . . .	3,284
Law (U.) .. . . .	2,974
Provand (L.) .. . . .	2,058

Majority .. . . . 310

Previous election, 1900: Law (U.), 4,130; Provand (L.), 3,140.

Was born at Lochee in 1859, his father being employed in a jute mill. At an early age Barnes came to London, returning to be apprenticed to a Dundee engineer. Went to Barrow, then came to London in 1879, when there was very little work to do. He was unemployed for some little time, but subsequently secured work at Woolwich Arsenal, Millwall, Poplar, and Chelsea, having joined his society some time previously. Upon a vacancy being created by the retirement of John Burns from the council of the society Barnes was elected. In 1892 he became assistant secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, but resigned (1895) on a



question of principle. In 1896 was elected general secretary, and took a prominent part in the great lock-out of 1897. He has been a close student of Continental labour problems; Moseley Commissioner to America; on Management Committees of Ruskin College and

National Housing Council, and is editor of the "A.S.E. Journal." Contested Rochdale in 1895.

Address, 110, Peckham Road, S.E.

### BOWERMAN, C. W.



DEPTFORD (15,397).

Bowerman (Lab.) .. . . .	6,236
Morton (C.) .. . . .	4,877
Vivian (L.) .. . . .	726

Majority .. . . . 1,259

Previous election, 1900: Morton (U), 6,236; Jones (Lab.), 3,806.

Born 1851, Mr. Bowerman served his apprenticeship as compositor in a London office. He has been a member of the London Society of Compositors since 1873; in 1889 he was appointed news secretary, and whilst in that position qualified for the post of general secretary, to which he was elected in 1892; delegate at every T.U. Congress except Norwich. Ever since 1897 he has been elected to the T.U. Parliamentary Committee, and in 1901 presided over the annual Congress when it was held at Swansea. Has been on the London County Council for some years; elected Alderman in 1901. His work on the various committees has been very valuable. Within the past year has been selected as Parliamentary secretary to his society.

Address, 4, Battledean Road, High-bury, N.

**CLYNES, J. R.****MANCHESTER, N.E.** (9,701).

<b>Clynès (Lab.)</b> .. . . .	<b>5,386</b>
<b>Fergusson (C.)</b> .. . . .	<b>2,954</b>
<b>Majority</b> .. . . .	<b>2,432</b>



Previous election, 1900: Fergusson (U.), 4,316; Birrell (L.), 3,610.

One of the youngest of the elected Labour M.P.'s. Born at Oldham in 1869. Served his time at a cotton factory as a boy, and spent his spare time in study. Having a remarkable ability for organisation, he was selected, in 1891, by the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union as organiser for the Lancashire district. Has held numerous positions of importance, such as chairman of the Federation of Trades Councils; and secretary of the Oldham and District Trades Council for 10 years. Has attended many Trade Union Congresses and International Congresses. He was recently created J.P. for the Oldham Bench.

Address, 176, Union Street, Oldham.

**CROOKS, WILLIAM.****WOOLWICH** (17,870).

<b>Crooks (Lab.)</b> .. . . .	<b>8,028</b>
<b>Adams (C.)</b> .. . . .	<b>6,914</b>

**Majority** .. . . . **2,112**

Previous election, March, 1903: Crooks (Lab.), 8,687; Drage (U.), 5,468.

Born at Poplar, 1852. Part of early life spent in the workhouse. Apprenticed to a cooper. Had a struggle to

find work because of his trade union principles. In 1887 elected trustee of the Parish and Library Commissioner for Poplar; in 1892 elected to L.C.C.; in 1893 became a Guardian. Has been chairman of the Poplar Guardians since 1897. Still sits on L.C.C. for Poplar; is on the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and was Mayor of the Borough of Poplar. First entered Parliament in 1903, winning the seat at Woolwich for the Labour party by a magnificent majority. He is universally recognised in Poplar as everybody's friend—the man you can always go and consult in any time of trouble or difficulty.

Address, 81, Gough Street, Poplar, E.

**DUNCAN, C.****BARROW-IN-FURNESS** (9,426).

<b>Duncan (Lab.)</b> .. . . .	<b>5,167</b>
<b>Cayzer (C.)</b> .. . . .	<b>3,395</b>

**Majority** .. . . . **1,772**

Previous election, 1900: Cayzer (U.) returned unopposed.

A Middlesbrough man, born in 1865. After a short schooling he was apprenticed to the engineering trade, migrating to Newcastle later on to serve some time at the Elswick Ordnance Factory. Returning to Middlesbrough in 1890, he heartily threw himself into Labour work, and was elected to the Town Council and Board of



Guardians. During the severe depression of 1895 organised relief for the unemployed, himself being out of work. Through the instrumentality of Tom Mann, Duncan came to London as the president of the newly-formed Workers' Union. In 1900, two years

later, he was appointed general secretary. He is also president of the Marylebone branch of Engineers, and was one of the delegates nominated by his society to attend the Trade Union Congress at Hanley last year, when the A.S.E. rejoined that body. Nineteen years a member of the A.S.E., and a regular contributor to the *A.S.E. Monthly Journal*.

Address, 16, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, N.W.

### GILL, ALFRED HENRY.

BOLTON—2 (20,388).

Harwood (L.).. . . .	10,953
Gill (Lab.).. . . .	10,416
Goschen (C.).. . . .	6,693

Labour majority .. . . . 3,723

Previous election, 1900: Cross (U. and Harwood (L.) returned unopposed.



Was born at Rochdale, 1856. At seven commenced work by selling newspapers, and leaving this occupation three years later, was employed in a cotton mill as a half-timer. At 23 went to Oldham, where he worked as an operative cotton-spinner. He became chairman of the Crompton Co-operative Society in 1886. Went to Pendlebury in 1887. In 1896, after being assistant secretary to the Bolton and District Operative Spinners' Association, he was appointed general secretary. Was for some time member of the Technical Instruction Committee of the Bolton Corporation; in 1899 made a J.P.; member of the Manchester and Bolton Chambers of Commerce, and of the E.C. of the Operative Spinners' Amalgamation, the 'Textile Workers'

Association, and chairman of the Parl. Com. of the T.U. Congress for 1906-7. He is on the committee of the British Cotton Growing Association.

Address, 61, Hampden Street, Bolton.

### GLOVER, T.



ST. HELENS (12,174).

Glover (Lab.).. . . .	8,083
Seton-Karr (C.).. . . .	4,647

Majority.. . . . 1,441

Previous election, 1900: Seton-Karr (U.), 5,300; Conybeare (L.), 3,402.

A member of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation, the largest of the two miners' counties which contribute to the funds of the Labour party. He was born at Prescott, 1852. His early life was spent in the mines, his first post being in the Brackbrook mines. He was then nine years old, and by perseverance worked his way through all the positions. In 1868 was appointed secretary of a branch of the Old National Union, which was broken up by a strike. In 1880, with others, started the St. Helens District Miners' Association. In 1882 helped to found the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which has done so much to raise wages. Was thrown out of work in 1883 by the stoppage of the collieries in which he was then working. He quickly found another place, and worked until 1884, when he became agent of the St. Helens District of Miners. Is J.P. for St. Helens, where he is well known, and from 1895 to 1901 was a member of the

Board of Guardians. Appointed treasurer to the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation in April, 1905.  
Address, 56, Bickerstaffe Street, St. Helens.

## HARDIE, J. KEIR.

MERTHYR TYDVIL—2 (21,438).

Thomas (L.) .. . . .	13,971
Hardie (Lab.) .. . . .	10,187
Radcliffe (I.L.) .. . . .	7,776

Majority .. . . . 2,411

Previous election, 1900: Thomas (L.), 8,598; Hardie (Lab.), 5,745; Pritchard Morgan (L.), 4,044.

James Keir Hardie was born in Lanarkshire in 1856. He spent his boyhood in the mines, leaving in his 24th year to organise the Lanarkshire miners, and to become their secretary. From 1882-86 he edited the *Cumnock News*. Turning to organising again, he founded a Union in Ayrshire, and was appointed president. He contested Mid-Lanark in 1888, fighting as a Socialist. He was successful in 1892 in West Ham South, gaining a majority of 1,232 over Major Banes. He was defeated in the same constituency in 1895. In the 1900 election he contested Preston and Merthyr Tydvil, losing the former and winning the latter by 1,700 votes over a Liberal candidate. He founded the Independent Labour Party, established the *Labour Leader* in 1897, and edited the paper until 1904, when it became the official organ of the party, and was definitely taken over as such. In Parliament he has championed the cause of the unemployed, strenuously opposed the South African war, and is a strong advocate of equal rights being granted to women as to men. He is a member of the Fabian Society. Was in Feb., 1906, elected Leader of the Labour Party.  
Address, 14, Nevill's Court, E.C.

## HENDERSON, ARTHUR.

BARNARD CASTLE, DURHAM (11,617).

Henderson (Lab.) .. . . .	5,540
Bell (C.) .. . . .	3,888

Majority .. . . . 1,652

Previous election, July, 1903: Henderson (Lab.), 3,370; Vane (U.), 3,323; Beaumont (L.), 2,809.

Arthur Henderson was born at Glasgow in 1863, and on moving to Newcastle in 1875 was apprenticed as a moulder to the firm of Messrs. Robert

Stephenson & Co. In 1883 he joined the Friendly Society of Ironfounders, and in a short time was made an official. In 1894 was secretary of the North-Eastern Conciliation Board. His municipal work includes labour on the Newcastle City Council, Durham County Council, and Darlington Borough Council. J.P. for Newcastle and Darlington, and was, in 1895, unanimously invited to contest the former seat for Parliament as a colleague of Mr. John Morley, but withdrew in favour of Mr. James Craig. As a member of the Wesleyan Church for 25 years, has filled nearly all the lay offices connected therewith, acting as a local preacher. Won the seat under the auspices of the L.R.C. at a by-election in 1903 in a three-cornered fight.  
Address, Teesdale, Atherfold Road, Clapham, S.W.

## HODGE, JOHN.



GORTON, S.E. LANCASHIRE (16,547)

Hodge (Lab.) .. . . .	8,586
Royse (C.) .. . . .	4,341

Majority .. . . . 4,225

Previous election, 1900: Hatch (U.), 5,761; Ward (Lab.), 5,241.

One of the best-known officials in the Trade Union movement, and has twice before contested divisions without success. The first time he attempted to get in for the Gower Division of Glamorgan, in 1900, while in 1902 he polled well at Preston, obtaining 6,490 votes. He is a Scotchman, born at Muirkirk, Ayrshire, 1855. Took an early interest in Labour matters. In 1886 the Steel Smelters' Association was formed, and



Mr. Hodge became secretary, throwing his whole heart and soul into the organisation, causing it to expand and to be in the forefront of every progressive movement. In 1892 he was president of the Glasgow Trades Council, also president of the T. U. Congress, 1892. In 1893 attended International Congress at Zurich; 1896, elected to Manchester City Council. He has produced many pamphlets, and contributed to numerous publications. He is an able speaker, and has taken part in many industrial questions.

Address, Ormond Mansions, Gt. Ormond Street, W.C.

### HUDSON, W.

NEWCASTLE—2 (36,909).

Hudson (Lab.)	18,869
Cairns (L.)	18,423
Plummer (C. Bal.)	11,942
Renwick (C. Cham.)	11,223

Lab. maj. over U. 6,927



Previous election, 1900: Plummer (U.), 15,097; Renwick (U.), 14,752; Storey (L.), 10,488; Lambton (L.), 10,453.

Walter Hudson has been born and bred within sight and hearing of the railway industry, for in 1852 he was born at Richmond Station, Yorkshire, his father being a railway man. The hon. member's first occupation was on the North-Eastern Railway, serving in various capacities until appointed main line guard, which position he occupied 26 years. He was always interested in Trade Union work, and quickly found official work in his society, and at the Annual Congress of the A.S.R.S. in 1891 was elected president, and was re-elected seven times, until he took up the position of secretary to the Irish section. Prominently connected with

English and Irish Trades Congresses, he was appointed president of the latter in 1903. He served on the Royal Commission on Accidents to Railwaymen, 1899, the evidence resulting in the Accidents Act of 1900.

Address, 2, Atherfold Road, Clapham, S.W.

### JENKINS, JOHN.



CHATHAM (13,432).

Jenkins (Lab.)	6,992
Jameson (C.)	4,020

Majority 2,672

Previous election, 1900: Davies (U.) returned unopposed.

John Jenkins all his life has been closely connected with docks and shipping. He was born at Pembroke Dock in 1852, his father being a shipwright in Government employ. When 16 the youth was apprenticed to two firms of Cardiff shipbuilders, and by hard application soon worked his way up. Elected member of Cardiff Shipbuilding Society, the year after becoming president. In 1893 he became the representative of the Bristol Channel District of Associated Shipwrights' Society. Taking an interest in municipal affairs, he was in 1890 elected a Town Councillor, in 1893 a J.P., and in 1903 became Mayor of Cardiff. Is a member of the Local Marine Board, a Wesleyan in religion, and in politics is thoroughly Labour, and his broad-minded municipal policy has won him many friends. When the T.U. Congress met at Cardiff in 1895 he was appointed president over the sittings.

Address, Grangetown, Cardiff.

**JOWETT, F. W.****BRADFORD, WEST (13,967).**

<b>Jowett (Lab.)</b> .. .	<b>4,957</b>
Flower (C.) .. .	4,147
Claridge (L.) .. .	3,580
<b>Majority</b> .. .	<b>810</b>



Previous election, 1900 : Flower (U.), 4,990; F. W. Jowett (Lab.), 4,940.

A native of Bradford, worked in the mills until 28. Became manufacturer's manager up to 1901, when he devoted himself to public work. For several years he has been director of the Bradford Provident Industrial Society. Throwing himself boldly into social and labour work, he was prominent in formation of I.L.P. branch. In 1892 he became a City Councillor, and in 1895 was made an Alderman. Is chairman of the Public Health Committee. This is the second time he has contested the division; in 1900 he was only defeated by a narrow margin, despite his opposition to the war. Was before the constituency from 1897.

Address, 2, Grantham Place, Bradford.

**KELLEY, G. D.****MANCHESTER, S.W. (8,551).**

<b>Kelley (Lab.)</b> .. .	<b>4,101</b>
Galloway (C.) .. .	2,875
<b>Majority</b> .. .	<b>1,226</b>

Previous election, 1900 : Galloway (U.), 4,017; Brocklehurst (Lab.), 2,398.

Is a Lincolnshire man, born at Ruskington, and his youth was occupied in preparing for the arduous duties of a schoolmaster. A family bereavement, however, altered his plan of action, and he went out to seek other employment, obtaining a post as lithographic printer with a firm in York City. Came to London for a short time, but went back to the provinces, and there began to be interested in Trade Union work. When the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers was founded he became its first secretary, and still occupies that position. For over 24 years he has been secretary of Manchester Trades Council, and is besides secretary Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils, and Manchester and District Joint Board of Conciliation, and president of International Association of Lithographers' Congress at Milan, 1904; J.P. for 13 years; six years a Manchester



City Councillor, where he has exhibited his keen interest in practical social reform.

Address, 63, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

**MACDONALD, J. R.****LEICESTER—2 (25,129).**

<b>Broadhurst (Lib.-Lab.)</b> .. .	<b>14,745</b>
<b>Macdonald (Lab.)</b> .. .	<b>14,685</b>
Rolleston (C. Bal.) .. .	7,504

Majority .. . 7,181

Previous election, 1900 : Broadhurst (L.), 10,385; Rolleston (C.), 9,066; Hazell (L.), 8,528; Macdonald (Lab.), 4,164.

Born at Lossiemouth, Elgin, 1866. Parents, agricultural labourers. Became

pupil teacher; went to Bristol. In London worked as clerk in warehouse, studying science in his spare hours, and obtaining special distinction. In 1888 was private secretary to Mr. T. Lough, M.P.; afterwards became a writer to the advanced press. Pioneered Socialism in the South of England: joined I.L.P., went on to the Fabian Executive and Administrative Council of I.L.P. Contested Southampton in 1896, and Leicester in 1900 as a strong opponent of the South African war. In 1900 became secretary of the newly-formed L.R.C., the important position which he still holds, and from which he has organised the Labour Party. Leader writer on the London *Echo*, 1902. Visited South Africa 1903, and on his return wrote "What I saw in South Africa." Was on the L.C.C. 1901 till 1904. Editor "Socialist Library" (1905), to which he has contributed "Socialism and Society." Is the Labour Party's whip.



**MACDONALD J. R.**

Address, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C., and 28, Victoria Street, S.W.

**MACPHERSON, JOHN T.**

**PRESTON—2 (18,626).**

<b>Macpherson (Lab.)</b> .. .. .	<b>10,181</b>
<b>Cox (L.)</b> .. .. .	<b>8,538</b>
<b>Kerr (C.)</b> .. .. .	<b>7,303</b>
<b>Tomlinson (C.)</b> .. .. .	<b>6,856</b>
<b>Majority</b> .. .. .	<b>2,878</b>

Previous election, May, 1903: Kerr (U.), 8,639; Hodge (Lab.), 6,490.

The youngest of the Labour M.P.'s.

He was born at Middlesbrough, 1872, and his career has been interesting and romantic. Spent his early boyhood in a steel works, and at 18 went off to sea, but tiring of this, came back to his native town to learn the trade of a steel smelter. He joined the Steel Smelters' Society in 1892, and has filled various offices since then. His executive recognised his abilities as an organiser, and he was appointed to this class of work, being successful. Then the post of assistant secretary to Mr. Hodge being vacant in 1898, he was elected to it, and to make himself better able to cope with the work of the society, he closed with an offer made by his society to send him to Ruskin College. The expenses were advanced by the society for a year, and Mr. Macpherson is repaying same at the rate of 10s. per week. He came from Oxford with a greatly widened outlook on social problems. His work of organising has increased threefold since, and the results have been very encouraging. Address, c/o Ormond Mansions, Gre: Ormond Street, W.C.

**O'GRADY, JAS.**

**LEEDS, EAST (9,490).**

<b>O'Grady (Lab.)</b> .. .. .	<b>4,2</b>
<b>Cautley (C.)</b> .. .. .	<b>2,2</b>
<b>Majority</b> .. .. .	<b>2,0</b>

Previous election, 1900: Cautley (U) 3,453; Maguire (L.), 1,586; Byles (H. and Lab.), 1,268.



Of Irish parentage; born in Bristol 1866. Started to earn his living in mineral water manufactory, and eventually became apprenticed to a furnitu

and later joined the Trade Union. travelled all over England as or to his Society, and returned to in 1890 to pursue real hard t and Municipal work. He got elected to the City Council, amongst other splendid work has strummental in obtaining scholar- r public schools. Was President . Congress at Bristol, 1898. Very ul organiser of the National mated Furnishing Trades' Associa- las represented it in France, and d as delegate in other capacities es at Stuttgart and Boston, 1903. Executive of General Federation le Unions and the Shipbuilding Federation.

ss., 26, Kyrle Road, Clapham Com- W.

### PARKER, JAMES.

HALIFAX—2 (15,316).

v (L.)	9,354
(Lab.)	8,937
(C.)	5,041

our majority . . . . . 3,896

us election, 1900: Crossley (U.), Whitley (L.), 5,543; Billson (L.), arker (Lab.), 3,276.

born at Avethorp, Lincolnshire. P. man, paid secretary of the



Branch since 1895. Past presi- the local branch Gas Workers' neral Labourers' Society, and

president of local Trades and Labour Council. Has a thorough knowledge of Yorkshire and its Industries; his muni- cipal work in Halifax has extended over seven years, having since 1897 occupied many responsible public positions, in- cluding chairmanship of Waterworks Committee, and member of the Halifax Chamber of Commerce.

Address, 7, St. James's Street, Halifax.

### ROBERTS, G. H.

NORWICH—2 (20,390).

Roberts (Lab.)	11,059
Tillett (L.)	10,972
Wild (C.)	7,460

Labour majority . . . . . 3,599

Previous election, January, 1904: Tillett (L.), 8,576; Wild (U.), 6,756; Roberts (Lab.), 2,440.

Born at Chedgrave, Norfolk, in 1869. In 1874 removed to Norwich. Monitor



at St. Stephen's National Schools, 1880. Was apprenticed to the printing trade, 1883, afterwards migrating to London. Came into touch with Trade Unionism, and on return to Norwich furthered local branch of Typographical Association. Was its president for several years, then secretary, and in 1894 became organiser. Joined I.L.P. in 1886. Elected to Nor- wich School Board 1889. In 1903 was adopted Labour Candidate, fighting a strenuous battle in the 1904 three-cornered contest, but coming out at the bottom of the poll, a state of things which he entirely reversed against the same opponents in the recent General Election. He is a clever speaker, as well as a

capable organiser. A good writer also.  
Address, 34, Cardiff Road, Norwich.

## RICHARDS, T. F.

WOLVERHAMPTON, WEST (12,707).

Richards (Lab.) .. .. .	5,767
Hickman (C.) .. .. .	5,588

Majority .. .. .	179
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Previous election, 1900: Hickman (U.) returned unopposed.

Born at Wednesbury, 1863, and had to earn his own living at a very early stage, owing to the death of his father. He joined the Boot and Shoe Operatives' Society just 20 years ago. In 1892 he was junior vice-president, in 1894 vice-president of the Leicester No. 1 Branch, and three years later was made president, being re-elected every year except 1901. Was also sent as one of the fraternal delegates from the Trade Union Congress at Leeds to the Co-operative Congress held last year in Birmingham. In 1894 was elected to the Leicester Town Council. Since 1887 he has been an active Socialist.

Address, 190, Barcombe Avenue, Streatham, S.W.

## SEDDON, JAMES A.



NEWTON, LANCs., S.W. (13,837).

Seddon (Lab.) .. .. .	6,434
Pilkington (C.) .. .. .	5,893

Majority .. .. .	541
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Previous election, 1900: Pilkington (U.) unopposed.

James Seddon is Lancashire born, first seeing light at Prescott, near Liverpool, in 1868. He served an apprenticeship in the grocery, and left the druggery of the counter for the more peripatetic and interesting life of a commercial. He has come closely into contact with the questions which affect the life of the shop assistant, and, being an active worker, decided to join the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants. He became a member of the St. Helens branch, and worked hard for it. He obtained the position of president of the union in 1902, after serving on the executive since 1898. He is a well-known member of the I.L.P. and was a factor in organising the political forces in St. Helens. Is an uncompromising Socialist, and much in request as a speaker.

Address, 48, Lingholme Road, St. Helens.

## SHACKLETON, D. J.

CLITHEROE, LANCs., N.E. (20,613).

Shackleton (Lab.) .. .. .	12,035
Belton (Ind.) .. .. .	3,828

Majority .. .. .	8,207
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Previous election, 1902: Shackleton returned unopposed.

Born at Rossendale in November, 1863. Son of an Accrington watchmaker, started work at 9 years old as a half-timer in the weaving sheds. At 12 was "driving" three looms. Married at 19, and became a Trade Unionist. At 24 was president of the Accrington Weavers' Association. In consequence lost his employment for some time. Regaining it was made secretary of his Trade Union at Ramsbottom, and subsequently secretary of the Darwen Weavers', Winders', and Warpers' Association. Is a J.P. for Accrington, a member of the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce, and vice-president of the Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation. Member of the Legislative Council of the Textile Factory Workers' Association. First entered Parliament in 1902, being returned unopposed for the Clitheroe Division of Lancashire. He headed the list in the election of the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee at Hanley last year. He believes strongly in getting rid of the custom prevalent in his trade of women remaining at work after they become mothers.

Address, 51, London Terrace, Darwen.

**SNOWDEN, PHILIP.****BLACKBURN—2** (21,127).

<b>Hornby (C.)</b> .. . . .	<b>10,291</b>
<b>Snowden (Lab.)</b> .. . . .	<b>10,282</b>
<b>Drage (C.)</b> .. . . .	<b>8,932</b>
<b>Hamer (L.)</b> .. . . .	<b>8,892</b>

Labour majority .. . . . 1,350

Previous election, 1900: Hornby (U.), 11,247; Coddington (U.), 9,415; Snowden (Lab.), 7,096.



One of the most popular figure heads of the new Labour Party, and was born in 1864 at Cowling, Yorkshire. In 1886 entered the Civil Service (Inland Revenue Department), and was content with the routine of that life until he was incapacitated through a bicycle accident, which has left him maimed for life. It was during his convalescence that he first began to regard Socialism seriously, and, when he was recovered, he went in for propaganda work for the Keighley Branch of the I.L.P. Four times elected to the Cowling Parish Council; for three years on the Keighley Town Council and Keighley School Board. Since 1900 addressed meetings all over the country. In 1898 he was elected a member of the I.L.P. National Administrative Council, and since Easter 1903, has been chairman of the party. In 1900 stood for Blackburn. Contested Wakefield at a by-election in 1902, polling 1,979 votes. He has been called the "Orator of the Labour Party." His literary work for the I.L.P. is also marked by special lucidity and invincible logic.

Address, 75, Spencer Place, Leeds.

**SUMMERBELL, T.****SUNDERLAND—2** (27,650).

<b>Stuart (L.)</b> .. . . .	<b>13,620</b>
<b>Summerbell (Lab.)</b> .. . . .	<b>13,430</b>
<b>Haggie (C.)</b> .. . . .	<b>7,879</b>
<b>Pemberton (C.F.T.)</b> .. . . .	<b>7,244</b>

Majority .. . . . 5,551

Previous election, 1900: Doxford (U.), 9,617; Pemberton (U.), 9,566; Hunter (L.), 9,370; Wilkie (Lab.), 8,842.

Born 1861, at Seaham Harbour. Son of a miner. Started work as a grocer, afterwards becoming printer, engaged in many northern towns until commencing business for himself in Sunderland; 24 years connected with Typographical Society, 17 years Trades' Council secretary; helped to found the Labourers' Union. On Sunderland Corporation for 13 years, and is on several committees, being also chairman of the Tramways Committee. Member of Housing Reform Council, Land Nationalisation, Foresters, Labour Information Bureau, I.L.P., and hon. secretary to the League of the Blind local branch.



Address, 14, Vincent Street, Sunderland.

**TAYLOR, J. W.****CHESTER-LE-STREET** (20,910).

<b>Taylor (Lab.)</b> .. . . .	<b>8,085</b>
<b>Shatto (C.)</b> .. . . .	<b>4,985</b>
<b>Tebb (L.)</b> .. . . .	<b>4,606</b>

Labour majority over Con. .. 3,100

Previous election, 1900: Joicey (L.), 5,830; Nicholson (C.), 5,391.

John Wilkinson Taylor, a staunch member of the I.L.P., has joined the Labour Party in the House, although his society, the Durham Colliery Mechanics' Assoc., is not affiliated. His candidature was also supported by the I.L.P. and the Durham Miners' Assoc. As Henderson succeeded Sir Joseph Pease, so Taylor succeeds Sir James Joicey, the new men having won their seats in fiercely-fought three-corner contests, the Liberal in each case coming out third on poll. So the old order passes. Has been a Durham blacksmith for 40 years, and is in business with his brother as a printer. Is a J.P., County Councillor, and on Education Committee. Is chief agent for his association, and chairman of Annfield Plain Co-op. Society, which has 6,000 members.

Address: Dipton, S.O., County Durham.

### THORNE, WILL.

WEST HAM, SOUTH (22,753).

Thorne (Lab.) .. .. . 10,210  
Nutting (C.) .. .. . 4,973

Majority .. .. . 5,237

Previous election, 1900: Banes (U.), 5,615; Thorne (Lab.), 4,419.

Born in Birmingham 1857, he was left fatherless at the early age of seven, and sought work in a rope-walk, turning the wheel for a rope spinner. Afterwards



went to work in a brickfield at the age of eight, and his scanty earnings went towards the upkeep of the home. Later became a gas worker at the Saltley (Birmingham) Gas Works, during the latter

part of the '70's, at the time when Mr. Chamberlain was Mayor. He was employed as a coke wheeler, and afterwards became an efficient stoker in the retort house on the drawing and charging machine, better known as the "iron man." In consequence of a strike over the machines, he tramped to London and started work for the South Metropolitan Gas Company. He started work at the Beckton Gas Works during the latter part of '83, and spent his time in attempting to better the conditions of the workmen. He founded the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers in March, 1889. Was elected general secretary, remaining so ever since. Has been on the T.U. Parliamentary Committee for 11 years; has attended three International Congresses. Hard worker on the West Ham Town Council, and in 1898 was Deputy-Mayor. His constituency has returned Keir Hardie and Joe Leicester. He is an S.D.F. man.

Address, 172, Pentonville Road, N.

### WALSH, STEPHEN.



INCE, S.W. LANCs. (12,986).

Walsh (Lab.) .. .. . 8,046  
Blundell (C.) .. .. . 3,410

Majority .. .. . 4,636

Previous election, 1900: Blundell (U.) returned unopposed.

Was born at Liverpool in 1859. He was left an orphan, and educated at Kirkdale Industrial Schools. In 1874 went to work at Ashton-in-Makerfield, and continued as a miner until 1889, becoming a Trade

Unionist meanwhile. He organised Ashton branch of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation. His active Parliamentary election work began when he helped Sam Woods in his 1892 contest at Ince. Before removal to Wigan, as miners' agent, in 1901, the now hon. member was for eight years on Town Council of Ashton. He succeeded Mr. Thomas Aspinwall, who unsuccessfully contested Wigan in 1895 and 1892.

Address, Avondale Road, Wigan.

### WARDLE, G. J.

STOCKPORT—2 (12,645).

Wardle (Lab.)	7,299
Duckworth (L.)	6,544
Barnston (C.)	4,591
O'Neill (C.)	4,064

Labour majority .. .. . 2,708

Previous election, 1900: Leigh (L.), 5,666; Melville (U.), 5,377; Green (L.), 5,200; Hillier (U.), 5,098.



Born in 1865, near Burton-on-Trent. Commenced work at Keighley, Yorkshire, as half-timer in factory at eight years of age, and by the time he was 13 was working full time. Educated at Wesleyan Day School. Clerk on Midland Railway at 15, and remained in that position until 1898, when appointed editor of the *Railway Review*, which he now conducts with ability, the organ being the record of the branches of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, of which he is a member. His journalistic experience was gained in the *Keighley Labour Journal*, published in the interest of the workers. He has published several pamphlets, and

brought out a small book of poems in 1897. For over a decade has been actively engaged in forwarding social work and the elucidation of Labour problems.

Address, 251, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.

### WILKIE, ALEX.

DUNDEE—2 (19,492).

Robertson (L.)	9,276
Wilkie (Lab.)	6,833
Robson (L.)	6,122
Shackleton (C.)	3,865
Smith (C.)	3,183

Labour majority .. .. . 711

Previous election, 1900: Robertson (L.), 7,777; Leng (L.), 7,650; Smith (U.), 5,181; Graham (U.), 5,152.

From a humble position as a boy, Alex. Wilkie has worked his way up to be the chief official of his Union. After many years at his trade, he served in several offices of his Union. The early seventies saw him secretary of Glasgow Shipwrights, then of Scottish Associated Shipwrights. He is a strong Federationist, and chairman of the Norwich scheme, 1894; was on the Trades Union Congress Committee which instituted general federation of trades; well known at Congress;



served in various official capacities. He assisted in the organisation of the Labour Representation Committee, under



whose auspices he ran at Dundee. He has visited America twice—Detroit Fed. of Labour, 1889, with Moseley Commission in 1902. He is an active co-operator, a Freemason and Oddfellow; was for many years on the Newcastle School Board; now a member of the City Council. Stood for Sunderland in 1900.

Address, 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

### WILSON, W. T.

#### WEST HOUGHTON, S.E. LANCs.

(17,984).

Wilson (Lab.)	9,262
Stanley (C.)	6,134

Majority . . . . . 3,128

Previous election, 1900: Lord Stanley (U.) returned unopposed.

Born near Windermere, Westmorland. Served apprenticeship as a carpenter and joiner at Hawkshead, afterwards at Barrow, Bury, and Bolton. Joined trade society in 1877, and has practically never been out of office. Was elected a member of the executive council in 1893-5; chairman 1897, and annually since. One of the founders of the Bolton Building Trades Federation. Was instrumental in preventing a lock-out in the building trade in 1899. Chairman of the Employers' Committee that met the National Federation of Master Builders' Reconciliation Boards for the Building Trades. In 1896 took part in, and was vice-chairman of, several conferences of representatives of the various trade societies and the

National Federation of Master Builders, the result being the establishing of Conciliation Boards for the building trades, by which strikes and lock-outs will practically be prevented. Has been very successful in negotiating the settlement of trade disputes. Has represented his society on several occasions at the T.U. Congress, and at conferences of Engineer-



ing and Shipbuilding Trades Federations, and has actively assisted in organising the workers in other industries.

Address, 248, Oxford Grove, Bolton.

## TRADE UNION LABOUR PARTY (19).

### ABRAHAM, W.—Rhondda.

Pentre, Rhondda, Glam.

Abraham (Miners) . . . . . Unopposed

### BELL, R.—Derby.

72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.

Bell (Railwaymen)	10,361
Roe (L.)	10,239
Holford (C.)	6,421
Churchill (C.)	6,409

Lab. majority over Con. . . . . 3,940

### BRACE, W.—Glamorgan, S.

Bryn Ivor, Abertillery.

Brace (Miners)	10,514
Wyndham-Quin (C.)	6,096

Majority . . . . . 4,418

### BURT, Rt. Hon. T.—Morpeth.

20, Burdon Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Burt (Miners)	5,518
Coates (C.)	1,919

Majority . . . . . 3,599

**CREMER, W. R.—Haggerston.**

11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

<b>Bremer (Lib.-Lab.)</b> .. .	2,772
<b>Guinness (C.)</b> .. .	2,371
<b>Majority</b> .. .	401

**EDWARDS, ENOCH.—Hanley.**

Miners' Offices, Burslem.

<b>Edwards (Miners)</b> .. .	9,183
<b>Heath (C.)</b> .. .	4,287
<b>Majority</b> .. .	4,896

**FENWICK, C.—**

Northumberland, Wansbeck.

Tankerville Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

<b>Fenwick (Miners)</b> .. .	10,388
<b>Riddell (U.)</b> .. .	5,210
<b>Majority</b> .. .	7,178

**HALL, FRED.—Normanton.**

Miners' Offices, Barnsley.

<b>Hall (Miners)</b> .. .	Unopposed
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**JOHNSON, JOHN.—Gateshead.**

20, The Avenue, Durham.

<b>Johnson (Miners)</b> .. .	9,851
<b>Angier (C.)</b> .. .	5,126
<b>Majority</b> .. .	4,525

**JOHNSON, WM.—Nuneaton.**

Bedworth, Warwickshire.

<b>Johnson (Miners)</b> .. .	7,677
<b>Newdegate (C.)</b> .. .	5,849
<b>Majority</b> .. .	1,828

**NICHOLS, G.—Northants, N.**

Chesterton, Staffs.

<b>Nichols (Lib.-Lab.)</b> .. .	4,880
<b>Sackville (C.)</b> .. .	4,195
<b>Majority</b> .. .	685

**RICHARDS T. Monmouthshire W.**

Ty, Cendi, Beaufort, Mon.

<b>Richards (Miners)</b> .. .	Unopposed
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**STEADMAN, W. C.—Finsbury, Central.**

49, Rectory Square, Stepney, E.

<b>Steadman (Barge-builders)</b> ..	3,483
<b>Goulding (C.)</b> .. .	2,799
<b>Majority</b> .. .	684

**VIVIAN, H.—Birkenhead.**

22, Red Lion Square, W.C.

<b>Vivian (Lib.-Lab.)</b> .. .	7,674
<b>Lees (C.)</b> .. .	5,271
<b>Kensit (Prot.)</b> .. .	2,118
<b>Majority</b> .. .	1,903

**WADSWORTH, J.—Yorks, Hallamshire.**

Miners' Offices, Barnsley.

<b>Wadsworth (Miners)</b> .. .	8,375
<b>Kelley (C.)</b> .. .	6,807
<b>Majority</b> .. .	1,568

**WARD, JOHN.—Stoke-on-Trent.**

129, Elmsleigh Road, East Hill, Wadsworth, S.W.

<b>Ward (Navvies)</b> .. .	7,660
<b>Coghill (U.)</b> .. .	4,288
<b>Majority</b> .. .	3,372

**WILLIAMS, J.—Gower.**

Mountain Ash, Glam.

<b>Williams (Miners)</b> .. .	4,841
<b>Williams (L.)</b> .. .	4,522
<b>Helme (C.)</b> .. .	1,939
<b>Majority</b> .. .	319

**WILSON, HAVELOCK.—Middlesbrough.**

Maritime Hall, West India Dock Rd., E.

<b>Wilson (Seamen)</b> .. .	9,271
<b>Sadler (C.)</b> .. .	6,864
<b>Lansbury (Soc.)</b> .. .	1,484
<b>Majority</b> .. .	2,407

**WILSON, JOHN.—Durham, Mid.**

North Road, Durham.

<b>Wilson (Miners)</b> .. .	Unopposed
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## OFFICIAL LIBERALS (381).

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Acland, F. D., 19, Arlington Street, W. ....	108	Yorks., Richmond.
Adkins, Ryland, 3, Paper Buildings, E.C. ....	1533	Lancs., Middleton.
Agnew, G. W., 10, Bouverie Street, E.C. ....	2210	Salford, W.
Ainsworth, J. S., 102, Lancaster Gate, W. ....	1495	Argyllshire.
Alden, P., 1, Woburn Square, W.C. ....	2950	Tottenham.
Allen, A. A., 47, Onslow Square, S.W. ....	567	Christchurch.
Allen, C. P., Farmhill Park, Stroud ....	1180	Gloucester, Stroud.
Armitage, R., Arnley, Leeds ....	1069	Leeds, Central.
Armstrong, W. C. H., 30, Portland Place, W. ....	136	Suffolk, Sudbury.
Ashton, T. G., 39, Prince's Gardens, S.W. ....	1858	Beds., Luton.
Asquith, H. H., Cavendish Square, W. ....	1444	Fife, E.
Astbury, J. M., 16, Grenville Place, S.W. ....	240	Lancs., Southport.
Atherley-Jones, L., 25, Pembroke Road, W. ....	5154	Durham, N.W.
Baker, J. Allen, Donnington Road, Harlesden ..	689	Finsbury, E.
Baker, Sir J., North End House, Portsmouth ..	2064	Portsmouth.
Balfour, R., 7, Spanish Place Mansions, Manchester Square, W. ....	1517	Lanark, Partick.
Baring, G., Cowes, Isle of Wight ....	1561	Hants., Isle of Wight.
Barker, J., The Grange, Bishop Stortford ..	97	Penryn and Falmouth.
Barlow, J. E., Torkington Lodge, Hazel Grove, Stockport ....	1745	Somerset, Frome.
Barlow, P., 5, Essex Court, Temple, E.C. ....	493	Bedford.
Barnard, E. B., Grove Lodge, Sawbridgeworth ..	271	Kidderminster.
Barran, R. H., Beechwood, Roundhay, Leeds ..	2485	Leeds, North.
Barratt, F. Layland, 68, Cadogan Sq., S.W. ....	460	Devon, Torquay.
Beale, W. P., 25, Sheffield Ter., Kensington, W.	1242	Ayrshire, S.
Beauchamp, E., 82, Gloucester Place, W. ....	1605	Suffolk, Lowestoft.
Beaumont, H., Bretton Park, Wakefield ..	630	Sussex, Eastbourne.
Beaumont, W. C. B., Bywell Hall, Stocksfield-on-Tyne ....	2085	Hexham.
Beck, A. C., St. Ives, Hunts. ....	1045	Wisbech.
Bellairs, Lieut. C., 44, Park Mansions, Knightsbridge, S.W. ....	342	King's Lynn.
Belloc, H., 104, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W. ....	852	Salford, S.
Benn, Sir J. W., Old Knoll, Blackheath, S.E. ....	1288	Devonport.
Benn, W. W., 8, Finsbury Square, E.C. ....	621	St. George's-in-the-East.
Bennett, E. N., Hertford Col., Oxford ....	441	Woodstock.
Berridge, T. H. D., 49, Rutland Gate, S.W. ....	209	Warwick.
Bertram, J., Stevenage, Herts. ....	76	Herts., Hitchin.
Bethell, Sir J. H., 88, Romford Rd., Stratford, E.	8855	Essex, Romford.
Bethell, T. R., Woodford Road, Snaresborough ..	149	Essex, Maldon.
Billson, A., Rowton Castle, near Shrewsbury ..	2110	Staffs., N.W.
Birrell, A., 70, Elm Park Road, Chelsea, S.W. ....	2942	Bristol, N.
Black, A. W., Nottingham ....	2604	Beds., Biggleswade.
Black, A. W., 3, Down Street, W. ....	2200	Banffshire.
Bolton, T. D., 3, Temple Gardens, E.C. ....	1769	Derbyshire, N.E.
Bottomley, H., Carlisle Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. ....	3479	Hackney, S.
Boulton, A. C. F., 2, Pump Court, E.C. ....	381	Hunts., Ramsey.
Bramsdon, T. A., St. Helier's, Elm Grove, Southsea ....	2328	Portsmouth.
Branch, J., 24, Fontayne Road, Stoke Newington, N. ....	2116	Middlesex, Enfield.
Bright, J. A., One Ash, Rochdale ....	4683	Oldham.
Brigg, J., Kilderwick Hall, near Keighley ....	2093	Yorks., Keighley.
Brocklehurst, W. B., Hurdfield House, near Macclesfield ....	494	Macclesfield.
Brodie, H. C., Shrubhurst, Oxted, Surrey ..	219	Surrey, Reigate.
Brooke, Stopford W., 34, De Vere Gardens, Kensington, W. ....	622	Bow.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
J. F. L., 23, Wetherby Gardens, S.W.	2006	Lancs., Leigh.
Sir J. T., 9, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.	1792	Northwich.
, 54, Portland Place, W. ....	4444	Aberdeen, S.
A., 12, Lombard Street, Inverness ..	658	Inverness Burghs.
T. R., 12, South Street, W. ....	1090	Perthshire, E.
ter, S. O., 1, Porchester Terrace, W. ....	308	Cambridge.
, 37, Lavender Gardens, Lavender Hill,		
, W. J. D., Goldsmith Building, Temple,	1600	Battersea.
S., 7, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. ....	313	Whitehaven.
P., Oakfield, Bradford .....	2311	Poplar.
, 107, Holland Road, Kensington, W.	1187	Salford, N.
J., 107, Holland Road, Kensington, W.	6481	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
J. R., 56, Victoria Street, S.W. ....	2776	Lanark, Mid.
-Bannerman, Sir H., Downing St., S.W.	5790	Durham, Houghton-le-Springs.
m, H. W., 41, Parliament Street, S.W.	unop.	Stirling Burghs.
R. K., 12, Devonshire Place, W. ....	1371	Rotherhithe.
Sir F., Brooklands, Prestwich, Lancs. ..	465	Southwark, W.
F. W., Morton, Carlisle .....	4163	Lancs., Prestwich.
, Sir F. A., 40, Eaton Place, S.W. ....	unop.	Carlisle.
n, J. F., Eastwood, Stalybridge .....	3693	Northants, E.
t. R., 92, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin ..	454	Stalybridge.
Winston, 9, Mount Street, W. ....	121	Liverpool, Exchange.
C., Goddard, South Lodge, Champion	1241	Manchester, N.W.
S.E. ....	2339	Peckham.
J. W., 4, Harcourt Bldgs., Temple, E.C.	1566	Glasgow, Bridgton.
W., Skipton, Yorkshire .....	233	Yorks., Skipton.
ir T. Glen., Ferguslie, Paisley .....	1368	Renfrew, W.
F. T., The Lodge, Felixstowe .....	1709	Ipswich.
Sir W. J., 1, Albert Terrace, Regent's		
, N.W. ....	655	St. Pancras, W.
Stephen, Harborne, St. Ann's Hill,		
isworth .....	1585	Kennington.
Dr. G., 92, Southwark Park Road, S.E.	1759	Bermondsey.
C. H., Woodgate, Danehill, Sussex ..	262	East Grinstead.
, Sir E. A., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W. ..	1997	Bethnal Green.
J., Llantarnam Abbey, Glam. ....	1192	Cornwall, St. Ives.
Sir H., 43, St. John's Wood Park, N.W.	1730	Nottingham, E.
W. H., South Square Works, Westmin-		
S.W. ....	800	Surrey, Guildford.
6, Raymond's Bldgs., Grays Inn, W.C.	1235	Preston.
, 3, Temple Gardens, E.C. ....	764	Tynemouth.
J. W., 91, Onslow Square, S.W. ....	2353	Kincardineshire.
A. H., Warrington .....	1500	Warrington.
W. J., Glenfield, Altrincham .....	2691	Cheshire, Altrincham.
, Lord, 38, Berkeley Square, W. ....	3217	Midlothian.
J. H., Ivy Lodge, Dunmow, Essex ....	3249	Kirkcaldy Burghs.
D., Plasdan, Llandiloes .....	unop.	Montgomeryshire.
llis W., House of Commons .....	unop.	Carnarvon, Eifion.
A. Vaughan, 17, Hyde Park Gardens, W.	2869	Cardiganshire.
T., Pantycelyn, East Putney .....	630	Fulham.
F. Hart, 17, S. James Sq., S.W. ....	224	Hackney, N.
W. H., Down House, Stoke Bishop,		
ol .....	2692	Bristol, S.
A., 24, Walker Street, Edinburgh ....	2960	Edinburgh, S.
r. A., Murray's Hill, Scone, Perth ....	2108	Inverness-shire.
W. H., 51, Campden Hill Road, W. ....	1482	St. Pancras, N.
Poynder, Sir J., 3, Chesterfield Gar-		
W. ....	1966	Chippenham, Wilts.
r C., 76, Sloane Street, S.W. ....	unop.	Gloucester, Forest of Dean.
r W., Gothic House, Chislett Road, N.W.	2474	Plymouth.
rgt., 26, Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin ....	9	Tyrone, N.
th, J., Castlefield, Rochdale .....	1953	Stockport.
J. H., Kineholm, Otley, Yorks. ....	1649	Yorks., Otley.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority	CONSTITUENCY.
Dunn, A. E., Exeter .....	2230	Cornwall, Camborne.
Dunne, Major, Gately Park, Kingsland, Hereford	1199	Walsall.
Edwards, Clement, 4, Pump Court, E.C. ....	573	Denbigh District.
Edwards, F., 111, Ashley Gardens, S.W. ....	175	Radnorshire.
Elbank, Master of, Juniper Bank, Walkerburn, N.B. ....	416	Peebles and Selkirk.
Ellis, J. E., 40, Pont Street, S.W. ....	3634	Notts., Rushcliffe.
Emmott, A. 30, Ennismore Gardens, S.W. ....	5408	Oldham.
Erskine, D. C., House of Commons .....	803	Perthshire, W.
Essex, R. W., Streatham Park, S.W. ....	506	Gloucester, Cirencester.
Evans, S. T., 4, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	unop.	Glamorgan, Mid.
Eve, H. T., 85, Addison Road, W. ....	1289	Devon, Ashburton.
Everett, R. L., Rushmere, Ipswich .....	179	Suffolk, Woodbridge.
Faber, G. H., 11, Clement's Lane, E.C. ....	107	Boston.
Fereus, T. R., Hull .....	2362	Hull, E.
Fiennes, Hon. E., 8, Cromwell Place, S.W. ....	1196	Oxon, Banbury.
Findlay, A., Motherwell, N.B. ....	1598	Lanark, N.E.
Foster, Sir W. B., 30, Grosvenor Road, S.W. ....	4297	Derbyshire, Ilkeston.
Fowler, Sir H., 105, Pall Mall, S.W. ....	2865	Wolverhampton, E.
Freeman-Thomas, F., 76, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	1093	Bodmin.
Fuller, J., 50, Rutland Gate, S.W. ....	1476	Wilts., Westbury.
Fullerton, H., Manchester .....	812	Cumberland, Egremont.
Furness, Sir C., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	unop.	Hartlepool.
Gardner, Col. A., Clearwell Castle, Coleford	312	Herefordshire, Ross.
Gibb, J., 27, Cornhill, E.C. ....	416	Middlesex, Harrow.
Gladstone, H., 2, Cowley St., Westminster, S.W.	4705	Leeds, West.
Glendinning, R., Windsor Avenue, Belfast	788	Antrim, N.
Goddard, D. F., National Liberal Club, S.W.	1805	Ipswich.
Gooch, G. F., South Villa, Campden Hill Rd., W.	946	Bath.
Grant, Corrie, 26, The Avenue, Bedford Park, Chiswick	274	Warwickshire, Rugby.
Greenwood, G. G., 33, Linden Gardens, W. ....	1159	Peterborough.
Greenwood, H., 13, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C. ....	305	York.
Grey, Sir E., Faquodden Hall, Chathill, Northumberland	2240	Northumberland, Berwick.
Griffith, E. J., North King's Bench Walk, Temple	2718	Anglesey.
Grove, Archibald, Pollard's Park, Chalfont, St. Giles, Bucks. ....	322	Northants, S.
Guest, Hon. Ivor, 22, Arlington Street, W. ..	3005	Cardiff.
Gulland, J. W., Edinburgh .....	633	Dumfries Burghs.
Gurdon, Sir W. B., Assington Hall, Boxford, Suffolk	1627	Norfolk, N.
Haldane, R. B., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	1180	Haddingtonshire.
Harcourt, Lewis, 14, Berkeley Square, W. ....	2219	Lancs., Rossendale.
Hardy, G. A., 76, Bedford Court Mansions, W.	213	Suffolk, Stowmarket.
Harmsworth, C. B., 23, Montague Square, W. ..	554	Droitwich.
Harmsworth, L., 3, Marlborough Gate, W. ....	2203	Caithness-shire.
Harvey, A. G. C., Messrs. Harvey & Fothergill, Manchester	1463	Rochdale.
Harwood, G., 68, South Audley Street, W. ....	4260	Bolton.
Haslam, J., Chesterfield .....	1664	Chesterfield.
Haslam, L., 44, Evelyn Gardens, S. Kensington, W.	612	Monmouth District.
Haworth, A. A., c/o Messrs. J. Delworth & Son, Manchester	4232	Manchester, S.
Hazel, A. E. W., West Bromwich .....	1213	West Bromwich.
Hedges, A. P., 13, Old Bond Street, W. ....	1283	Kent, Tonbridge.
Helme, N. W., 4, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	884	Lancs., Lancaster.
Hemmerde, E. G., 23, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. ....	2791	Denbigh, E.
Henderson, J. Mcd., 2, Moorgate St. Bldgs., E.C.	3158	Aberdeenshire, W.
Henry, C., 1, Porchester Gate, W. ....	1692	Shropshire, Wellington.
Herbert, T. A., 5, New Court, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.	1215	Bucks., Wycombe.
Herbert, Col. Ivor, Llanarth Court, Raglan, Mon.	1287	Monmouthshire, S
Higham, J. S., 14, King's House, St. James' Court, S.W. ....	2448	Yorks., Sowerby.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
art, Sir R., 54, Chester Square, S.W. ....	48	Hants., New Forest.
house, C. E., Corsham, Wilts. ....	4806	Bristol, E.
den, E. H., 5, Threadneedle Street, E.C. ....	1106	Lancs., Heywood.
land, Sir W. H., 61, Queen's Gate, S.W. ...	unop.	Yorks., Rotherham.
ne, J. D., 16, Prince's Street, Edinburgh ...	4916	Fife, W.
er, W. B., Eastwood, East Harptree, Bristol	2246	Somerset, N.
per, A. G., Selborne House, Dudley. ....	754	Dudley.
niman, E. J., 74, Elm Park Road, Chelsea ...	629	Chelsea.
ridge, T. G., 1, Kensden Court, Temple, E.C.	1980	Manchester, E.
ard, Hon. J., 1, Kensington Palace Green, W.	237	Cumberland, Eskdale.
ton, A. E., 22, Ryder Street, S.W. ....	unop.	Yorks., Morley.
le, C. G., 76, Gloucester Ter., Hyde Park, W.	944	Wednesbury.
is, T. H., 110, Pratt St., Camden Town, N.W.	376	Flint District.
ngworth, E., 2, Taffield Court, Temple, E.C.	unop.	Yorks., Shipley.
acs, Rufus, 32, Park Lane, W. ....	697	Reading.
ason, R. S., Croom's Hill, Greenwich, S.E.	2841	Greenwich.
oby, Sir J. A., 8, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.	3590	Derbyshire, Mid.
dine, Sir J., Applegarth, Godalming ...	315	Roxburgshire.
es, Sir D. B., 27, Bryanston Square, W. ....	unop.	Swansea District.
es, Lief, 1, Palace Green, Kensington, W. ...	3	Westmorland, Appleby.
ies, W., 24, Gordon Street, W.C. ....	3412	Carnarvonshire, Arfon.
rley, H. E., 41, Grosvenor Place, S.W. ....	1684	Devonport.
ewich, Sir G. W., St. Albans, Feltham, Middlesex	85	Exeter.
ig, A. J., Bollington, Cheshire. ....	700	Cheshire, Knutsford.
son, Sir J., 105, Pall Mall, S.W. ....	unop.	Yorks., Solne Valley.
dlaw, R., Chislehurst, Kent. ....	95	Renfrew, E.
nb, E., Borden Wood, Sussex. ....	23	Hereford, Leominster.
nb, E. H., 37, King William Street, E.C. ...	593	Rochester.
nbert, G., Spreyton, Bow, N. Devon ...	unop.	Devon, S. Molton.
nont, N., Knockdow, Toward Point, Argyllshire	120	Buteshire.
ngley, Batty, Langhill, Sheffield. ....	787	Sheffield, Attercliffe.
l, H. C., 60, Cadogan Place, S.W. ....	1875	St. Pancras, E.
se, Sir J. F., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	2357	Lancs., Accrington.
mann, R. C., Fieldhead, Bourne End, Bucks.	1699	Leicestershire, Harboro'.
er, W. H., The Hill, North End, Hampstead.	1701	Cheshire, Wirral.
y, M., 16, St. James' Place, S.W. ....	1780	Leicestershire, Loughborough.
y-Lever, A., 20, Hans Crescent, S.W. ....	342	Essex, Harwich.
vis, J. H., 9, Addison Court Gardens, W.	2722	Flintshire.
yd-George, D., 3, Routh Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W. ....	1224	Carnarvon District.
gh, T., 14, Dean's Yard, Westminster. ....	498	Islington, W.
ton, A., House of Commons. ....	293	Lincs., Sleaford.
trell, H. F., Ward House, Bere Alston, Devon.	1209	Devon, Tavistock.
ll, C. H., 48, Eaton Place, S.W. ....	19	Dorset, E.
ch, H. F., 33, Pont Street, S.W. ....	313	Yorks., Ripon.
Arthur, W. A., 12, Buckingham Gate, S.W.	3151	Cornwall, St. Austel.
Callum, J., South Dene, Paisley. ....	3070	Paisley.
drae, G., Tornish Grange, Edinburgh. ....	4174	Edinburgh, E.
cdonald, J. A. M., 15, Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W. ....	1932	Falkirk Burghs.
ckarness, F., 20, Oxford Square, W. ....	402	Berks., Newbury.
Kenna, R., 29, Wellington Court, Albert Gate, S.W. ....	4575	Monmouthshire, N.
Laren, Sir C. B., 43, Belgrave Square, W. ...	4051	Bosworth.
Laren, H. D., 43, Belgrave Square, W. ....	878	Staffs., W.
clean, D., 46, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. ....	979	Bath.
Micking, Maj. G., 39, Sloane Gardens, S.W. ...	297	Kirkcudbrightshire.
cnamara, Dr. T. J., Cloutarf, Rolls Court Avenue, Herne Hill, S.W. ....	2817	Camberwell, N.
ddison, F., 12, Acris St., Wandsworth, S.W.	324	Burnley.
llet, C. E., 21, Berners Street, W. ....	2367	Plymouth.
nsfield, H., Moulton Grange, Northampton	1240	Northants, Mid.
nsfield, H. R., Broom Leys, Coalville, near Leicester	1620	Lincs., Spalding.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Markham, A. B., 43, Portland Place, W. ....	unop.	Notts., Mansfield.
Marks, G. C., 8, Southampton Buildings, W.C. .	1922	Cornwall, Launceston.
Marnham, F. J., Crouch Oak, Addlestone, near Chertsey .....	90	Surrey, Chertsey.
Mason, A. E. W., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	1092	Coventry.
Massie, Dr. J., 201, Banbury Road, Oxford ..	1578	Wilts., Cricklade.
Masterman, C. F. G., 10, Addington Square, Camberwell, S.E. ....	1744	West Ham, N.
Menzies, W., Culcrench, Stirlingshire .....	1275	Lanarkshire, S.
Micklem, N., Boxmoor .....	1476	Herts., Watford.
Molteno, P. A., 19, Palace Court, Bayswater, W.	1383	Dumfriesshire.
Mond, A., 35, Lowndes Square, S.W. ....	47	Chester.
Money, L. G. C., 3, Alexandra Court, Maida Vale, W. ....	1406	Paddington, N.
Montgomery, H. G., Bacton, Norfolk .....	17	Bridgwater.
Montagu, E. S., 59, Bridge Street, Cambridge	513	Camb., Chesterton.
Morgan, G. H., 4, Harcourt Bldgs., Temple, E.C.	504	Cornwall, Truro.
Morgan, J. Lloyd, 105, Pall Mall, S.W. ....	unop.	Carmarthenshire.
Morley, John, Wimbledon Park, S.W. ....	2494	Montrose Burghs.
Morrell, P., Henley-on-Thames .....	512	Oxon, Henley.
Morse, L. L., The Croft, Swindon .....	724	Wilts., Wilton.
Morton, A. C., 80, Eaton Place, S.W. ....	450	Sutherlandshire.
Munro-Ferguson, R. C., 46, Cadogan Square, S.W.	2812	Leith Burghs.
Murray, Jas., House of Commons .....	unop.	Aberdeenshire, E.
Myer, H., 64, Maida Vale, N.W. ....	258	Lambeth, N.
Napier, T. B., 7, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.	1834	Kent, Faversham.
Newnes, F., Wild Croft, Putney, S.W. ....	531	Notts, Basettlaw.
Newnes, Sir G., Wild Croft, Putney Heath, S.W.	1454	Swansea Town.
Nicholson, C. N., 50, Eaton Square, S.W. ....	3669	Yorks., Doncaster.
Norman, Sir H., Kilcombe Farm, Alton, Hants.	686	Wolverhampton, S.
Norton, Capt., 22, Barkstone Gardens, S.W. ....	2021	Newington, W.
Nussey, T. W., 2, Dr. Johnson's Buildings, Temple, E.C. ....	807	Pontefract.
Nuttall, H., Stretford, Manchester .....	2824	Lancs., Stretford.
O'Donnell, C. J., 75, Queen's Gate, S.W. ....	769	Walsworth.
Palmer, Sir C. M., 37, Curzon Street, W. ....	2954	Durham, Jarrow.
Partington, O., 18, Cadogan Square, S.W. ....	796	Derbyshire, High Peak.
Paul, H. W., 46, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W. .	411	Northampton.
Paulton, J. M., 79a, Pall Mall, S.W. ....	4374	Durham, Bishop Aucklan
Pearce, R., Messrs. Bayliss, Pearce, & Co., 116, Fife Street, E.C. ....	1474	Staffs., Leek.
Pearce, W., The Elms, Salway Hill, Woodford ..	974	Limehouse.
Pearson, Sir W. D., 16, Carlton House Ter., S.W.	310	Colchester.
Pearson, Harold, 16, Carlton House Terrace, W.	197	Suffolk, Eye.
Pease, J. A., 8, Hertford Street, W. ....	1268	Essex, Saffron Walden.
Perks, R. W., 11, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.	979	Lincs., Louth.
Philippus, Owen, 86, Knightsbridge, S.W. ....	1049	Pembroke District.
Philippus, J. W., Lydstep Haven, Penelly, Pem- brokehire .....	3280	Pembrokeshire.
Philippus, Col. I., Cosheston, Pembrokeshire ..	1278	Southampton.
Pickersgill, E. H., 238, Amhurst Road, Hackney, N.E. ....	1478	Bethnal Green, S.W.
Pirie, D. V., Kinaldie, Aberdeenshire .....	2914	Aberdeen, N.
Pollard, Dr. J. H., Southport .....	595	Lancs., Eccles.
Price, C. E., 6, Sussex Mansions, S.W. ....	2078	Edinburgh, Central.
Price, R. J., 6, Sussex Mansions, S.W. ....	2196	Norfolk, E.
Priestley, A., Kingston Hall, Grantham .....	109	Grantham.
Priestley, W. E. B., Bradford .....	1908	Bradford, E.
Radford, G. H., Chiswick House, Ditton Hill ..	767	Islington, E.
Rainy, A. R., House of Commons, S.W. ....	2525	Kilmarnock Burghs.
Raphael, H. H., 32a, Weymouth Street, W. .	1493	Derbyshire, S.
Rea, R., 22, Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, N.W.	302	Gloucester City.
Rea, W. R., 21, Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead ..	509	Scarborough.
Reckitt, H. J., 1, Wilton Terrace, S.W. ....	1726	Lincs., Brigg.
Rees, J. D., Hillmedes, Harrow .....	83	Montgomery District.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Thornbury, Gloucester .....	2130	Gloucester, Thornbury.
lie, Naseby Hall, Rugby .....	851	Lincs., Gainsborough.
A., Friar Lane, Nottingham .....	800	Nottingham, S.
C., 100, Lancaster Gate, W. ....	4124	Yorks., Osgoldcross.
A., 7, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. ....	731	Brighton.
H., 1, Palace Green, Kensington, W. ....	1392	Lincoln.
H., 10, Buckingham Palace Gds., S.W. ....	unop.	Denbighshire, West.
E., 4, Essex Court, Temple, E.C. ....	2443	Dundee.
Sir G. S., Harley House, Regent's W. ....	1340	Bradford, Central.
J. M., 80, Baker Street, W. ....	4611	Northumberland, Tyneside
., Lynhales, Lyonshall, Kingston ...	2277	Brecknockshire.
W. S., 6, Eaton Square, S.W. ....	6286	South Shields.
., Litchurch, Derby .....	3818	Derby.
N., Ramsion House, Pewsey .....	614	Wilts., Devizes.
53, Berkeley Square, W. ....	783	Camb., Newmarket.
., 119, Mercers Road, Tufnell Park, N. ....	2804	Kent, Dartford.
W., 314, St. James' Court, S.W. ...	3805	Dewsbury.
W., 99, Ashley Gardens, S.W. ....	283	Tyrone, S.
Dr. V. H., 55, Wimpole Street, W. ....	453	Brentford.
rbert, 88, Gloucester Terrace, W. ...	unop.	Yorks., Cleveland.
art, 12, Hill Street, W. ....	356	Whitechapel.
T., Osmington House, Weymouth ...	624	Dorset, S.
D., 4, Prince's Gardens, S.W. ....	1063	Cheshire, Hyde.
ir C. E., 4, Prince's Gardens, S.W. ...	2454	Manchester, N.
., Park House, Swinton Grove, Man- ..	968	Ashton-under-Lyne.
Rydal Mount, Holder's Hill, Hendon. ....	401	Cheltenham.
H., 16, Eastcheap, E.C. ....	286	Brixton.
er, 23, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. ...	199	Liverpool, Abercromby.
Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W. ....	681	Hawick Burghs.
., Tottenham, Wolverhampton .....	311	Stafford.
r. G., 5, Crown Office Row, Temple, ..	175	Northampton.
B., Bath .....	355	Somerset, Wells.
., 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W. ...	3937	Essex, Walthamstow.
101, Mount Street, W. ....	3519	Forfarshire.
., M., Sheldons, Winchfield, Hants ...	3669	Stirlingshire.
tain Kincaid, Adingbourne House, ..	148	Stratford-on-Avon.
er W., 18, Park Crescent, Portland W. ....	1158	Norfolk, S.
V., Upcott, near Barnstaple .....	2045	Devon, Barnstaple.
A., 10, Lancaster Gate, W. ....	616	Hackney, Central.
Y., Northwood, Middlesex .....	1058	Kensington, N.
on. A. L., Derby House, St. James' S.W. ....	1123	Cheshire, Eddisbury.
., The Red House, Harpenden, Herts. ....	1342	Greenock.
th, D., 31, Norfolk Square, Hyde .....	252	Kendal.
ir E., 27, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. ...	1917	Somerset, S.
S., 8, Hyde Park Mansions, W. ....	126	Mid. End.
A., 68, Borough High Street, S.E. ...	176	Berks., Abingdon.
24, Grosvenor Road, S.W. ....	5741	Sunderland.
J. E., Portsay, Elginshire .....	1956	Elgin Burghs.
stin, 179, Ashley Gardens, S.W. ....	unop.	Liverpool, Toxteth, E.
., Sunnybank, Batley, Yorks. ....	1602	Lancs., Radcliffe.
r E. P., 31, Lennox Gardens, S.W. ...	41	Salisbury.
J., 33, Bruton Street, W. ....	1351	Berwickshire.
el, 85, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. ....	unop.	Carmarthenshire, E.
A., Bronwydd, Cardiff .....	unop.	Glamorgan, E.
A., 122, Ashley Gardens, S.W. ....	3784	Merthyr Tydvil.
Franklin, Tribune, Bouverie St., E.C. ....	3580	Leicester.
J. W. H., 2, Southwick Crescent, Square, W. ....	663	Somerset, E.



NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority	CONSTITUENCY.
Tillett, L., Catton, Norfolk .....	3512	Norwich.
Tomkinson, J., Wellington Hall, Tarporey, Cheshire .....	2508	Cheshire, Crewe.
Torrance, Sir A. M., 16, Highbury Quadrant, N.	431	Glasgow, Central.
Toulmin, G., 166, Ashley Gardens, S.W. ....	1127	Bury.
Trevelyan, C. P., 11, North Street, Westminster	3647	Yorks., Elland.
Ure, A., 4, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	2521	Linlithgowshire.
Verney, F. W., 12, Connaught Place, W. ....	1580	Bucks., Buckingham.
Villiers, E. A., 22, Adelaide Crescent, Brighton	874	Brighton.
Walker, H. de R., 96, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W. ....	1767	Leicestershire, Melton.
Wallace, R., 39, Campden Hill Gardens, W. ....	1008	Perth.
Walters, T. J., Friar Lane, Leicester .....	1001	Sheffield, Brightside.
Walton, Sir J. Lawson, 2, Melbury Road, Ken- sington, W. ....	4494	Leeds, S.
Walton, J., 7, Sloane Street, S.W. ....	unop.	Yorks., Barnsley.
Ward, W. D., 14a, Berkeley Street, W. ....	501	Southampton.
Warner, T. C., 50, Cadogan Square, S.W. ....	2430	Staffs., Lichfield.
Wason, E., Craig, Dalgarrock .....	1379	Clackmannan.
Wason, Cathcart, 16, Evelyn Mansions, Ashley Place, S.W. ....	2816	Orkney and Shetlands.
Waterlow, D. S., 38, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. ..	866	Islington, N.
Watt, H. A., Hunter's Quay, Forth of Clyde ..	1683	Glasgow, College.
Wedgwood, J., Etruria, Staffordshire .....	2207	Newcastle-under-Lyme.
Weir, J. G., 4, Frognal, Hampstead, N.W. ....	2112	Ross and Cromarty.
Whitbread, S. H., Southill, Biggleswade .....	469	Hunts., Huntingdon.
White, G., The Grange, Eaton, Norwich .....	2800	Norfolk, N.W.
White, J. D., Overtoun, Dumbarton .....	467	Dumbartonshire.
White, L., Inns of Court Hotel, Holborn, W. ....	1602	Yorks., Buckrose.
Whitehead, R., S, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W. ....	2060	Essex, S.E.
Whiteley, G., 3, Prince's Gate, S.W. ....	3502	Yorks., Pudsey.
Whitley, J. H., Brantwood, Halifax .....	4313	Halifax.
Whittaker, Sir T. P., 9, Tariton St., Gordon Sq., W.	2884	Yorks., Spen Valley.
Wiles, T., 5, Aubrey Road, W. ....	1615	Islington, S.
Williams, O., Castle Dundreath, Merionethshire ..	unop.	Merionethshire.
Williams, W. L., Lamb Building, Temple, E.C.	2094	Carmarthen District.
Williamson, A., 6, Crosby Square, E.C. ....	1460	Elgin and Nairn.
Wills, A. W., 3, Hyde Park Gate, S.W. ....	645	Dorset, N.
Wilson, Hon. C. H., Ferriby Hall, Hull .....	2247	Hull, W.
Wilson, H. J., Osgathorpe Hill, Sheffield .....	4173	Yorks., Holmfirth.
Wilson, J. W., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W. ....	479	Worcester, N.
Wilson, P., Whitwell, <i>Daily News</i> , Bouverie Street, E.C. ....	61	St. Pancras, S.
Winfrey, R., Sutton Ho., Thorpe Rd., Peterboro'	2861	Norfolk, S.W.
Wodehouse, Lord, 35, Lowndes Square, S.W. ....	27	Norfolk, Mid.
Wood, T. McKinnon, 16, Portland Place, W. ....	3405	Glasgow, St. Rollox.
Woodhouse, Sir J. T., Brough House, Brough, Yorks. ....	1911	Huddersfield.
Yoxall, J. H., 67, Russell Square, W.C. ....	2845	Nottingham, W.

## UNIONISTS (157).

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority	CONSTITUENCY.
Acland-Hood, Sir A., St. Andrews, Bridgewater	272	Somerset, W.
Akers-Douglas, A., 113, Mount Street, W. ....	2861	Kent, St. Augustine's.
Anson, Sir W. R., All Soul's College, Oxford ..	unop.	Oxford University.
Anstruther-Gray, Major, Kilmany, Fife, N.B. ..	23	St. Andrews.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
J. S., 7, King's Bench Walk, E.C.	242	Hereford.
ster, H. O., Abbey Gar., Westminster.	1007	Croydon.
v. W., The Knowle, Bispham, near		
ool	8061	Lancs., Blackpool.
etcher, Sir H., 1, Up. Belgrave St., S.W.	1714	Lewes.
Lord, 74, Brook Street, W.	1387	Lancs., Chorley.
A., Kensington Palace Mansions, W.	3194	Worcestershire, Bewdley.
apt. C. B., 14, Grosvenor Cres., S.W.	1570	Hornsey.
A. J., 47, Cadogan Square, S.W.	11340	City of London.
Sir F. G., 41, Lowndes Street, S.W.	unop.	City of London.
on. G., House of Commons	50	Winchester.
T., Manse House, Coleraine.	2107	Londonderry, N.
Hon. G., 1, Hyde Park Place, W.	71	Yorks., Whitby.
Sir A., 56a, Pall Mall, S.W.	96	Wick Burghs.
S., 36, Connaught Square, W.	819	Norwood.
E., 63, Queen's Gate, S.W.	339	Taunton.
l, W. C., 13, Mansfield Street, W.	503	Oswestry.
n, E. A., 16, St. James' Place, S.W.	217	Wakefield.
N. J., Meadows, Uxbridge Road, W.	549	Hammersmith.
outts, W. A. B., 1, Stratton St., W.	1113	Westminster.
3. H., Danesfort, Killarney	1397	Cambridge University.
J. H. M., 30, Up. Pembroke St., Dublin.	unop.	Dublin University.
l., Ponsbourne, Herts.	552	Herts., St. Albans.
r E., 35, Rutland Gate, S.W.	unop.	Dublin University.
h, Lord, Londonderry House, W.	132	Maldstone.
56, Piccadilly, W.	1019	Surrey, Kingston.
Victor, 37, Park Lane, W.	559	Derbyshire, W.
10, Eaton Place, S.W.	4708	Aston Manor.
d R., 25, Grove End Road, N.W.	660	Marylebone, W.
in. J., Highbury, Birmingham	5079	Birmingham, W.
in, Austen, 40, Prince's Gardens, S.W.	4366	Worcester, E.
ajor, Tayle's Hill, Ewell	1683	Lewisham.
Hon. T. H., 12, Queen's Gate, S.W.	1016	Ayrshire, N.
esse, Edgbaston, Birmingham	3787	Birmingham, Bordesley.
C., 26, Hans Place, S.W.	353	Glasgow.
F. L., 57, Warwick Square, S.W.	2275	Down, N.
Rye, Sussex	1158	Sussex, Rye.
C., 55, Gt. Cumberland Place, W.	unop	Antrim, S.
t. J., Craigavon, Strandtown, co. Down.	670	Down, E.
Henry, 1, Green Street, W.	1093	Glasgow and Aberdeen Univ.
Marchbank Wood, Dumfries-shire	248	Glasgow, Camlachie.
Lord, Lochinch, Castle Kennedy, Wig-		
re	789	Wigtownshire.
Ld. Willoughby, 12, Belgrave Gt., S.W.	150	Horncastle.
D., Ballymenoch, Holyrood	291	Belfast, N.
tland, Sir F., 4, Chesham Place, S.W.	145	Uxbridge.
Sir G., Waltham Hall, Lincolnshire	2309	Grimsby.
H., 1, Cottesmore Gardens, W.	413	Hastings.
t., House of Commons, S.W.	128	Lanark, Govan.
ajor, Weyhill, near Andover	79	Hants., Andover.
D., 14, Grosvenor Square, W.	14	York.
ir T. G., 26, Hyde Park Street, W.	1417	Paddington, S.
Lauriston House, Wimbledon Common	236	Yarmouth.
onhaugh, G., 5, Herbert Street, Dublin	88	Fermanagh, N.
H., Burley-on-the-Hill, Oakham	483	Rutland.
f. S., 4, College Villa, Finchley Rd., N.W.	473	Hampstead.
I. W., 3, Cadogan Terrace, S.W.	364	Kent, Sevenoaks.
E., Spencers, Maidenhead	1325	Berks., Wokingham.
A., 16, Hyde Park Gardens, W.	365	Bristol, W.
r W. Evans, 4, Chelsea Embank't., S.W.	637	Stepney.
.. 25, Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin	71	Londonderry, S.
G. B., Carnforth Hall, Lancs.	179	Lancs., Lonsdale.
Eric, 70, Prince's Gate, S.W.	2114	Surrey, Wimbledon.
Marquis of, 111, Park St., Grosvenor		
3, W.	unop.	Londonderry.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Hardy, L., 42, Lowndes Square, S.W. ....	381	Kent, Ashford.
Harmood-Banner, J., Ashfield Hall, Neston, Cheshire .....	1065	Everton, Liverpool.
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B., 613, Welton House, Yorks. ....		
Hay, Hon. C., 5, Connaught Sq., Hyde Park, W. ....	736	Hoxton.
Heaton, J., Hennifer, 36, Eaton Square, S.W. ....	948	Canterbury.
Helmley, Lord, The Grange, Manton, Yorks. ....	804	Thirsk and Malton.
Hervey, Capt. F., Ickworth Lodge, Bury St. Edmunds .....	434	Bury St. Edmunds.
Hicks-Beach, Hon. M., Coln, St. Aldwyns, Fairfield, Glos. ....	127	Tewkesbury.
Hill, Sir C. L., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	440	Shrewsbury.
Hill, H. S., 6, Pump Court, Temple, E.C. ....	841	Staffs., Kingswinford.
Hills, J. W., 14, Victoria Grove, Kensington, W. ....	433	Durham City.
Hornby, Sir W. H., Pleasington Hall, Blackburn .....	9	Blackburn.
Houston, R. P., 44, Park Lane, W. ....	781	Liverpool, W. Toxteth.
Hunt, R., Borelton Hall, Shrewsbury .....	760	Shropshire, Ludlow.
Joicey-Cecil, Lord John, Tixover Grange, Stamford .....	541	Stamford.
Kennaway, Sir J., Escott, Ottery St. Mary, Devon .....	1143	Devon, Honiton.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col., 44, Lowndes Square, S.W. ....	166	Shropshire, Newport.
Keswick, W., Eastwick Park, Great Bookham .....	1095	Surrey, Epsom.
Kimber, Sir H., Lansdowne Lodge, E. Putney .....	545	Wandsworth.
King, Sir H. S., 25, Cornwall G'd'ns., Kensington .....	1178	Hull, Central.
Lambton, Hon. F. W., 72, Upper Berkeley St., W. ....	unop.	Durham, S.E.
Lane-Fox, G., Barkston Ash .....	648	Yorks., Barkston Ash.
Law, A., Bonr, Kintillo, Helensburgh, N.B. ....	1279	Dulwich.
Lee, A. H., West Leigh, Havant, Hants .....	1352	Hants., Fareham.
Liddell, H., Banoge House, Donacloy .....	unop.	Down, W.
Lockwood, Col., 5, Audley Square, W. ....	1174	Essex, Epping.
Long, Col., Seven Bank, Severn Stoke, Worcester .....	92	Worcester, Evesham.
Long, W. H., 11, Ennismore Gardens, S.W. ....	1343	Dublin County, S.
Lonsdale, J. B., 13, Prince's Gardens, S.W. ....	unop.	Armagh, Mid.
Lowe, Sir F. W., 2, Queen's Gate, S.W. ....	4159	Birmingham, Edgbaston.
Lowther, J. W., (The Speaker), 16, Wilton Cres. ....	unop.	Cumberland, Penrith.
Lytlington, Hon. A., 16, Great College Street, W. ....	unop.	St. George's, Hanover Squa
McCalmont, Col., Holywell House, Belfast .....	2351	Antrim, E.
MacIver, D., Manor Hill, Birkenhead .....	592	Liverpool, Kirkdale.
McIver, Sir L., 25, Upper Brook Street, W. ....	306	Edinburgh, W.
Magnus, Sir P., 16, Gloucester Terrace, W. ....	24	London University.
Marks, H. H., 6, Cavendish Square, W. ....	1193	Kent, Isle of Thanet.
Mason, J. F., Freeland Lodge, Woodstock, Oxfordshire .....	128	Windsor.
Meysey-Thompson, E. C., Spellow Hill, Staveley, Leeds .....	4771	Staffs., Handsworth.
Middlemore, J. T., Brookfield, Belbroughton, near Stovebridge .....	3897	Birmingham, N.
Mildmay, F. B., 46, Berkeley Square, W. ....	2223	Devon, Totnes.
Morpet, Lord, 5, Carlton Gardens, S.W. ....	2900	Birmingham, S.
Muntz, Sir P. A., Dunsmore, near Rugby .....	2719	Warwickshire, Tamworth.
Nicholson, W. G., 80, Eaton Square, S.W. ....	96	Hants., Petersfield.
Nield, H., Bishopsmead, The Bishop's Avenue, East Finchley .....	1279	Middlesex, Ealing.
O'Neill, Hon. R. T., 3, Regent Street, S.W. ....	790	Antrim, Mid.
Parker, Sir G., 20, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. ....	1689	Gravesend.
Parke, E., Oakgrange, Hermitage Road, Birmingham .....	3609	Birmingham, Central.
Pease, H. P., Merrow Croft, Guildford .....	488	Darlington.
Percy, Lord, 64, Curzon Street, W. ....	3211	Kensington, S.
Powell, Sir F. S., 1, Cambridge Square, W. ....	368	Wigan.
Randles, Sir J. S., Stilecroft, Workington .....	690	Cumberland, Cockermouth
Rasch, Sir F. C., Woodhill, Danbury, Essex .....	454	Essex, Chelmsford.
Ratcliff, R. F., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	1041	Staffs., Burton.
Rawlinson, J. F. P., Pembroke Col. Cambridge .....	1323	Cambridge University.
Remnant, J. F., 4, South Eaton Place, S.W. ....	1175	Holborn.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority	CONSTITUENCY.
65, Whitehall Court, S.W. ....	464	Sheffield, Ecclesall.
R., Preston Hall, Stockton-on-Tees ..	1655	Stockton.
Hon. W., 148, Piccadilly, W. ....	1212	Bucks., Aylesbury.
J., 101, Mount Street, W. ....	25	Lancs., Darwen.
W., Heathfield, Wavertree, Liverpool	1847	Liverpool, West Derby.
C., 26, Montagu Square, W. ....	259	Basingslake.
l., 87, Jermyn Street, S.W. ....	340	Lancs., Bootle.
r E. A., Alvie Lodge, Kincairg, N.B.	899	Hythe.
, Col., 5, Deanery Street, W. ....	unop.	Armagh, N.
3., 38, South Street, W. ....	655	Marylebone, W.
l., Belfast .....	816	Belfast, S.
l. W. F. D., 3, Grosvenor Place, S.W.	2081	Strand.
E., 23, St. Stephen's Mansions, S.W.	709	Liverpool, Walton.
H. (F.T.), Woodhall Park, Hertford	80	Herts., Hertford.
Ion. A., Derby House, St. James		
S.W. ....	2316	Lancs., Ormskirk.
R., Norwood Park, Southwell, Notts	328	Notts, Newark.
J. B., The Grange, Erdington, War-		
re .....	585	Birmingham, E.
rd E., 1, Buckingham Pal. Gdns., S.W.	1174	Sussex, Chichester.
l., 10, Gt. College St., Westminster....	unop.	Oxford University.
W. M., 6, Charlotte Street, Edinburgh	675	Lanark, N.W.
P. M., Battersea Rise House, S.W. ..	102	Clapham.
l. Batty, 26, Charlotte Sq., Edinburgh	2583	Edinburgh & St. Andrew's Univ.
ord, Shillingier Park, Petworth, Surrey	617	Sussex, Horsham.
ord, 62, Pont Street, S.W. ....	100	Oxford.
r H., 1, Grosvenor Square, W. ....	327	Sheffield, Central.
ol., Gatacre Grange, near Liverpool	852	Lancs., Widnes.
Ion. L., 9, Wilbraham Place, S.W. ....	485	Devon, Tiverton.
l., Barham Court, Maidstone .....	108	Kent, Medway.
Col. R., 1, Hyde Park Street, W. ....	887	Dorset, W.
, G. H., Currie Hill, Wimbledon ....	129	Worcester City.
S., Raywell, Hull .....	80	Yorks., Holderness.
W., 90, Piccadilly, W. ....	unop.	Belfast, E.
l. B., 7, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.	81	Hallam, Sheffield.
G., 35, Park Lane, W. ....	1564	Dover.
l., Valleyfield, Fife .....	261	Ayr Burghs.

## IRISH NATIONALISTS (83).

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority	CONSTITUENCY.
W., 7, Cheverton Road, N. ....	unop.	Cork, N.E.
Dr. R., 1, Mount Place, Whitechapel		
E. ....	unop.	Mayo, West.
House of Commons, S.W. ....	unop.	Cork, S.
20, Kensington Gate, W. ....	unop.	Longford, S.
198, Ashley Gardens, S.W. ....	unop.	Kerry, S.
H., 70, Waterloo Road, Dublin .....	unop.	King's County, Tullamore.
J., Breffin T'ce, Sandycove Rd., Dublin.	unop.	Dublin, N.
J., 115, Thomas Street, Dublin .....	unop.	Wicklow, E.
J., New Quay, Clononell, Tipperary ..	unop.	Tipperary, E.
3, Douglas Street, Cork .....	unop.	Cork, S.E.
, Bansha, co. Tipperary .....	unop.	Tipperary, S.
V., Tullamore, Ireland .....	unop.	Queen's County, Ossory.
Belfast .....	16	Belfast, W.
2, North Great George Street, Dublin	unop.	Mayo, E.
J., House of Commons .....	unop.	Leitrim, N.
apt., Ballymona, Middleton, co. Cork	unop.	Cork, E.
J., Loughrea, Ireland .....	unop.	Galway, S.
Sir T., Ballynastiragh, Gorey, Wexf'd	unop.	Wexford, N.

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Farrell, J. P., 57, Denbigh Street, Pimlico, S.W.	unop.	Longford, N.
Ffrench, P., Bridgetown, S. Wexford	unop.	Wexford, S.
Field, W., 29, Camberwell New Road, S.E.	unop.	Dublin, St. Patrick's
Flavin, M. J., 119, Rock Street, Tralee	unop.	Kerry, N.
Flynn, J. C., York Terrace, Cork	unop.	Cork, N.
Gilhooly, J., Bantry, co. Cork	unop.	Cork, W.
Ginnell, L., House of Commons	unop.	Westmeath, N.
Gwynn, S., Raheny Park, nr. Dublin	424	Galway City.
Halpin, J., Newmarket-on-Fergus, Ireland	unop.	Clare, W.
Hammond, J., Carlow, Ireland	unop.	Carlow.
Harrington, T., 70, Harcourt Street, Dublin	2750	Dublin, Harbour.
Hayden, J. P., <i>Westmeath Examiner</i> , Mullingar.	unop.	Roscommon, S.
Hazleton, R., House of Commons	unop.	Galway, N.
Healy, T. M., 1, Mountjoy Square, Dublin	unop.	Louth, N.
Hogan, M., Tipperary	unop.	Tipperary, N.
Jordan, J., Enniskillen, Ireland	unop.	Fermanagh, S.
Joyce, M., 5, Arthur's Quay, Limerick	unop.	Limerick City.
Kennedy, V. P., 7, Farnham Street, Cavan	unop.	Cavan, W.
Kettle, T. M., House of Commons	19	Tyrone, E.
Kilbride, D., Duke Street, Athy, co. Kildare	unop.	Kildare, S.
Law, H. A., Marble Hill, Ballymore, Letterkenny	unop.	Donegal, W.
Lundon, W., Kiltelly, co. Limerick	unop.	Limerick, E.
McHugh, P. A., "Sligo Champion," Sligo	unop.	Leitrim, N.
McKean, J., Ardna Greena, Kingstown, co. Dublin	unop.	Monaghan, S.
McKillop, W., Laurievile, Crosshill, Glasgow	unop.	Armagh, S.
McNeill, J. G., 17, Pembroke Road, Dublin	unop.	Donegal, S.
McVeagh, J., 15, Montague Place, Russell Sq., W	648	Down, S.
McVeigh, C., House of Commons	unop.	Donegal, E.
Meagher, M., House of Commons	unop.	Kilkenny, N.
Meehan, P. A., Maryborough, Queen's County	unop.	Queen's County, Leix.
Mooney, J. J., 50, Victoria Street, S.W.	67	Newry.
Murnaghan, G., Lisanelly House, Omagh	unop.	Tyrone, Mid.
Murphy, J., Killarney	54	Kerry, E.
Nannetti, J. P., 19, Hardwicke Street, Dublin	unop.	Dublin, College Green.
Nolan, J., 42, Crutched Friars, E.C.	unop.	Louth, S.
O'Brien, K. E., Golden Hill, Cashel, Tipperary	unop.	Tipperary, Mid.
O'Brien, P., Dublin	unop.	Kilkenny.
O'Brien, W., Westport, co. Mayo	unop.	Cork City.
O'Connor, James, House of Commons	unop.	Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John, National Liberal Club	unop.	Kildare, N.
O'Connor, T. P., Oakley Lodge, Chelsea, S.W.	1691	Liverpool, Scotland.
O'Doherty, P., Londonderry	unop.	Donegal, N.
O'Donnell, J., Westport, co. Mayo	unop.	Mayo, S.
O'Donnell, T., Killorglin, co. Kerry	unop.	Kerry, W.
O'Dowd, J., Bunninadden, Sligo	unop.	Sligo, S.
O'Hare, P., Circus Drive, Dennistoun, Glasgow	unop.	Monaghan, N.
O'Kelly, C., Claremorris, co. Mayo	unop.	Mayo, N.
O'Kelly, J. J., 100, Fleet Street, E.C.	unop.	Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, W., 21, Norfolk Square, Brighton	unop.	Galway, Connemara.
O'Mara, J., 30, Maida Hill, N.W.	unop.	Kilkenny, S.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J., Rathkeale, co. Limerick	unop.	Limerick, W.
O'Shee, J. J., Newtown, Carrick-on-Suir	unop.	Waterford, W.
Power, P. J., 13, Templeton Place, S.W.	unop.	Waterford, E.
Reddy, M., House of Commons	unop.	King's County, Birr.
Redmond, J. E., 392, Clapham Road, S.W.	unop.	Waterford City.
Redmond, W., 25, Pal. M'ns., Ham'smith Rd., W.	unop.	Clare, E.
Roche, A., 21, Bedford Square, W.	unop.	Cork City.
Roche, J., 15, Montagu Place, W.C.	unop.	Galway, E.
Sheehan, D. D., Cork City	unop.	Cork, Mid.
Sheehy, D., 126, Hollybank, Drumcondra, Dublin	unop.	Meath, S.
Smyth, T., Tooman, Dromod, co. Leitrim	unop.	Leitrim, S.
Sullivan, D., 1, Belvedere Place, Dublin	unop.	Westmeath, S.
Waldron, L. A., 10, Anglesea Street, Dublin	1474	Dublin, St. Stephen's
White, P., Clonalloy, Balbriggan	unop.	Meath, N.
Young, S., Avonmore, Derryvolgie, Belfast	unop.	Cavan, E.

## THE GOVERNMENT.

Prime Minister .. .. .	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.
1st Lord of the Treasury (£5,000) .. .. .	Lord Loreburn.
1st High Chancellor of Gt. Britain (£10,000)	Earl of Crewe.
1st President of the Privy Council (£2,000) ..	Marquis of Ripon.
1st Privy Seal (unpaid) .. .. .	H. H. Asquith.
1st Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5,000) .. ..	H. J. Gladstone.
1st Secretary of State for the Home Dept. (£5,000)	Sir Edward Grey.
1st Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (£5,000)	Earl of Elgin.
1st Secretary of State for the Colonies (£5,000) ..	R. B. Haldane.
1st Secretary of State for War (£5,000) .. .. .	John Morley.
1st Secretary of State for India (£5,000) .. .. .	Lord Tweedmouth.
1st Lord of the Admiralty (£4,550) .. .. .	James Bryce.
1st Chief Secretary to the Ld. Lt. of Ireland (£4,425)	Capt. John Sinclair.
1st Secretary for Scotland (unpaid) .. .. .	Sir Henry Fowler.
1st Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (£2,000)	D. Lloyd-George.
1st President of the Board of Trade (£2,000) ..	John Burns.
1st President of the Local Govt. Bd. (£2,000) ..	Earl Carrington.
1st President of the Bd. of Agriculture (£2,000) ..	Augustine Birrell, K.O.
1st President of the Board of Education (£2,000) ..	Sydney Buxton.
1st Postmaster-General (£2,500) .. .. .	

### Ministers not in the Cabinet.

1st Lord Chancellor of Ireland (£8,000) .. .. .	Lord Justice Walker.
1st Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (£20,000) .. .. .	Earl of Aberdeen.
1st Chief Commissioner of Works (£2,000) .. .. .	Lewis Harcourt.
1st Civil Secretary to the Treasury (£2,000) .. ..	G. Whiteley.
1st Financial Secretary to the Treasury (£2,000) ..	R. McKenna.
1st Junior Lords of the Treasury .. .. .	£1,000. J. A. Pease.
	" .. Herbert Lewis.
	" .. Capt. Cecil Norton.
1st Postmaster-General (unpaid) .. .. .	Unpaid. J. M. F. Fuller.
1st Civil Lord of the Admiralty (£1,000) .. .. .	R. K. Causton.
1st Under-Secretary for War (£1,500) .. .. .	G. Lambert.
1st Financial Secretary to the War Office (£1,500)	Earl of Portsmouth.
1st Civil Secretary to the Admiralty (£2,000) ..	T. R. Buchanan.
1st Civil Secretary to the Board of Trade (£1,200) ..	E. Robertson.
1st Secretary to the Local Govt. Board (£1,200) ..	H. E. Kearley.
1st Under-Secretary for the Home Dept. (£1,500) ..	W. Runciman.
1st Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (£1,500) ..	Herbert Samuel.
1st Under-Secretary for the Colonies (£1,500) ..	Lord Fitzmaurice of Leigh.
1st Under-Secretary for India (£1,500) .. .. .	Winston S. Churchill.
1st Secretary to the Board of Education (£1,200)	John Ellis.
1st Attorney-General (£7,000 and fees, £5,993 in 1905)	T. Lough.
1st Solicitor-General (£6,000 and fees, £5,743 in 1905)	Sir J. Lawson-Walton, K.C.
1st Lord Advocate of Scotland (£5,000) .. .. .	Sir W. S. Robson, K.C.
1st Solicitor-General for Scotland (£2,000) .. ..	Thomas Shaw, K.C.
1st Attorney-General for Ireland (£5,000 and fees)	A. Ure, K.C.
1st Solicitor-General for Ireland (£2,000 and fees)	R. R. Cherry, K.C.
1st Lord Steward (£2,000) .. .. .	Redmond Barry.
1st Treasurer of the Household (£700) .. .. .	Lord Liverpool.
1st Comptroller of the Household (£700) .. .. .	Sir Edward Strachey.
1st Lord Chamberlain (£2,000) .. .. .	Master of Elibank.
1st Vice-Chamberlain (£924) .. .. .	Lord Althorp.
	W. O. B. Beaumont.

# THE GENERAL ELECTION.

By S. D. SHALLARD.

The General Election of 1906 bore an aspect long familiar in the elections of other European countries, but hitherto supposed to be alien to the spirit of British politics. The traditional division into two great and well-defined parties, already blurred by the growth of the Irish Nationalist party, entirely gave way before the appearance of a number of contesting groups.

The full effect of this development was suspended by the immediate necessity of crushing the Protectionist revival, but even with that consideration in view there were 36 cases in which Unionist, Liberal, and Socialist or Labour were engaged in three-corner contests. The Unionists broke into three sections—a solid body of Opportunists, and two extreme wings, respectively Protectionist and Free Food. In Ireland, the Unionists also fell into three distinct groups, caused by differences upon Irish questions. In both cases these differences were the cause of three-corner contests or sectional struggles.

Although the significance of the revolutionary change is not yet realised, two of its features were of such dramatic interest as to overshadow all other effects of the election. These were the almost complete break-up of an old historic Parliamentary party, and the startling rise of a new one.

## The Meaning of the Labour Success.

The success of so many Labour candidates came as a complete surprise to that section of the public which knows little of the widespread educative propaganda carried on by the various Socialist organisations, one result of which is the increasing alienation of working-men's minds from the historic parties.

The public was even less informed as to the nature of the machinery which achieved the successes, and the relation of its component parts was to many a complete mystery. Much confusion arose as to the "I.L.P." (Independent Labour Party), and the "L.R.C." (Labour Representation Committee); and this confusion was further increased when the latter Committee, in February, 1906, adopted its new name of "The Labour Party."

The situation is, however, quite easy to understand, even for those who have had no previous acquaintance with Labour politics.

Under the heading, "Labour at the Polls," commencing on page 57, will be found tables clearly setting forth the positions of candidates and M.P.'s in relation to the sections of the party, and details as to the Labour Party, I.L.P., and other political organisations, will be found on page 77, *et. seq.*

A brief account of the circumstances that gave rise to the new party may, however, here be useful.

## The I.L.P.

The "I.L.P." was started in 1892, designedly as an alliance between all Socialists and non-Socialist Trade Unionists, but very soon became a declared Socialist society. For ordinary reasons of practical convenience the name has never been changed; nor has it been necessary, its Socialist nature being well known. In point of fact, it is never now called the "Independent Labour Party," but always the "I.L.P."

Some new means of alliance with the Trade Unions being necessary, a model was found in the successful Labour Representation Committees which had

sprung up all over the country for local election purposes, and were made up of delegates from Socialist societies, Trade Unions, and sometimes Co-operative societies.

### The New Labour Party.

In 1899 the Trade Union Congress declared in favour of a national Labour Representation Committee. This Committee, which soon became known as the "L.R.C.," originally included delegates of the Trade Unions, "I.L.P.," Fabian Society, and S.D.F., but subsequently the S.D.F. seceded. In February, 1906, the L.R.C. adopted its present title of "Labour Party."

### What the Labour Party Does.

The national Labour Party does not itself promote candidatures, but only endorses the candidates adopted by its affiliated societies. Its principal work is to prevent sectional contests; to raise funds in assistance of candidatures, and for the support of elected members; and to secure united independent action in the House of Commons. The assistance given to candidates is restricted to one-fourth of the returning officer's expenses. The payment to each of its elected M.P.'s is £200 per annum.

The candidates who are to fight under its banner must first of all have been selected by one of the affiliated societies, which is then responsible for the promotion of the candidature and the bulk of his election expenses. The Labour Party does not ask his "politics," but only requires that he shall have been properly selected, and shall sign a declaration of loyalty to the constitution and rules of the party, including the rule as to independent action, which is, of course, the *raison-d'être* of the party.

### The Labour Party and the Socialists.

The distinction between a "Socialist section" of the party and a "Trade Union" section is purely technical, as most of the 17,000 affiliated Socialists belong to Trade Unions, and many of the affiliated Trade Unionists are also Socialists. When the daily Press states that out of a million affiliated members of the Labour Party there are only 17,000 Socialists, its readers naturally inquire: "How, then, is it that there are at least twenty Socialists among its 30 M.P.'s?"

The reply is that as the Trade Union candidates were elected by the ballot of the members of their respective societies, it must be supposed that those candidates with Socialist views were the most acceptable to the majority of members.

The fallacy of the attempt to make any sharp distinction into two sections is shown in the fact that of the seven candidatures successfully promoted and financed by the "I.L.P.," three were those of Trade Union officials whose societies comprise some 50,000 members. On the other hand, among the 23 candidatures successfully promoted by Trade Unions, 10 were those of leading members of the I.L.P. Altogether, the 13 M.P.'s who are both Trade Union officials and well-known members of the I.L.P. represent trade societies with a total of 330,000 members.

This situation was strikingly reflected in the results of the election, which are analysed under "Labour at the Polls." Tables E. and F. given in that section (p. 60), show that the votes cast for declared Socialists account for 232,378 or 70 per cent. of the total L.R.C. poll of 331,280; whilst of the whole Labour poll, comprising that of the L.R.C., Scottish workers, miners, trade Union group, and Socialists, the votes for declared Socialists accounted for 274,631 out of 530,643, or nearly 52 per cent.



## BALANCE OF PARTIES.\*

The strength of parties as the result of the General Election was as follows:—

Official Liberals.....	381
Liberal Trade Union Party.....	19
Unionists .....	157
Nationalists .....	83
Labour Party.....	30

—  
670

Allowing for the loss of one Unionist vote by the election of Mr. Lowther as Speaker, the official Liberals had a majority of 93 over all other parties. The official and Trade Union Liberals together had a majority of 131 over the parties sitting in opposition.

The nominal majority of all other parties over the Unionists was 357; but in actual divisions cross-voting is almost inevitable. For instance, it must be remembered that some of the Unionists are Free Traders, whilst some of the Liberals, on the other hand, are opposed to Home Rule. Sir J. Kitson's Free Trade resolution Mar. 13th, was carried by 477 to 100; majority, 377.

## SOME ELECTION MANIFESTOES.

### THE L.R.C.

To the Electors.—

This election is to decide whether or not Labour is to be fairly represented in Parliament.

The House of Commons is supposed to be the people's House, and yet the people are not there.

Landlords, employers, lawyers, brewers, and financiers are there in force. Why not Labour?

The Trade Unions ask the same liberty as capital enjoys. They are refused.

The aged poor are neglected.

The slums remain; overcrowding continues, whilst the land goes to waste.

Shopkeepers and traders are overburdened with rates and taxation, whilst the increasing land values, which should relieve the ratepayers, go to people who have not earned them.

Wars are fought to make the rich richer, and underfed school children are still neglected.

Chinese labour is defended because it enriches the mine owners.

The unemployed asked for work; the Government gave them a worthless Act, and now, when you are beginning to understand the causes of your poverty, the red herring of Protection is drawn across your path.

Protection, as experience shows, is no remedy for poverty and unemployment. It serves to keep you from dealing with the land, housing, old age, and other social problems.

You have it in your power to see that Parliament carries out your wishes. The Labour Representation Executive appeals to you in the name of one million Trade Unionists to forget all the political differences which have kept you apart in the past, and vote for—. [Here was inserted the name of the Labour candidate in each constituency.]

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\* During the year Mr. Austin Taylor, elected as a Unionist, has crossed the floor of the House; whilst the Unionists have won Cocker mouth from the Liberals. The balance of parties therefore remains unaltered.

**THE I.L.P.**

The I.L.P. issued a manifesto addressed to "the working-class electors of Great Britain." This pointed out that not only is there a deplorable lack of working-class representation, but that "in the speeches and election addresses of leading politicians Labour and Social questions are either ignored, or, at the best, mentioned in the most vague and perfunctory manner." The address continued:—

We desire it to be plainly understood that the fault of this lies at the door of you, the working classes. Hitherto you have been content to leave our political thinking to be done for you by party politicians, and your opinions to be formed for you by their hirelings in the Press. The main reason for the existence of Liberals and Conservatives is to protect the interests of the rich, and keep you divided. This they accomplish by keeping you wrangling over matters which concern you but slightly, if at all. They appeal to your religious prejudices, your racial animosities, your patriotism, and your pride; and whilst you quarrel among yourselves they quietly fill their own pockets and empty yours.

With the land in the hands of the rich, and the workers sunk in the depths of poverty, though they had the power to alter all this inequality, they kept on voting for those who plundered them. Pauperism was increasing, the House of Lords dominated Parliament; property qualification ruled. Women were without votes; there were slums, intemperance, sectarian strife over education, capitalistic Press, and other disgraces.

The I.L.P. was a Socialist organisation, and was creating a political party which should not be allied to or under the control of any other party, but which should fight for the right of the workers against all comers.

The manifesto ended by appealing to the workers to create and finance and control a party of their own, and thus prove that democracy was a reality.

**THE S.D.F.**

The Social Democratic Federation pointed out that the increased power to create wealth with less and less labour, and the vast improvements in mechanical and chemical means had but enriched the few. No thorough improvement could be brought about until the people owned the means of making and distributing all useful and beautiful things. While pressing on to this goal there were palliatives which Social Democrats advocated. Of these there were three of special and immediate importance:—

- (1) State Maintenance of Children. It had been recognised that children were entitled to free education. It would have to be admitted that their maintenance during school life was necessary that they might benefit by their education, and grow up strong and capable citizens.
- (2) Organisation of the Unemployed. Charity was worse than useless. Emigration had proved futile. The Poor Law as now administered was harmful and cruel.
- (3) Pensions for the Aged and Incapacitated, instead of workhouse pauperisation, which proceeds upon the assumption that poverty is a crime.

**T.U. CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.**

This manifesto pointed out that a Government which came into office to give Old-age Pensions to the aged poor had instead impoverished the people and benefited the idle rich. The workers were the wealth producers of the country,

and, having the franchise, should use it in their own interests. They should vote only for candidates pledged to:—

The principles embodied in the Trades Disputes Bill;  
 Amendment of the Compensation Acts;  
 Give compensation to all workers from date of accident;  
 Amendment of the Truck Act;  
 Abolition of enforced Chinese labour in South Africa;  
 Establishment of a State Pension Fund at 60 years of age;  
 Extension of the Housing Acts;  
 Returning officers' fees to be a charge upon the national Exchequer;  
 Adult suffrage; and  
 Establishment of an eight-hour working day.

The manifesto concluded by earnestly urging all Trade Unionists and wage-earners to see that only those entered Parliament who understood and sympathised with them, and were willing to work in the interests of Labour.

### THE MINERS.

The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain issued a manifesto asking for the votes and active interest of all Trade Unionists. The manifesto set forth:—

The Federation has spent much money and effort, by lobbying members and in other ways, for the promotion of the various Labour questions in which we are interested, such as an Eight Hours Bill, an amended Mines Bill, old-age pensions, an amended Workmen's Compensation Act, the Trades Disputes Bill, and many other measures of vital importance to working men. We have always felt, however, that the amount of success has not attended our efforts which we could have desired, and this we believe to be due mainly to the want of a larger number of direct Labour representatives in Parliament. We now have our opportunity to prove whether we are in earnest in securing these and other necessary reforms, and so, with this object in view, candidates accepted by various constituencies and endorsed by this Federation will seek your suffrages. Whilst the candidates will run under the auspices of the Miners' Federation, they will be found to be in full accord with the aspirations and needs of the labouring classes generally, and will co-operate heartily with other Labour representatives.

### UNITED MANIFESTO IN FAVOUR OF VOTES FOR WOMEN.

This manifesto pointed out that laws affect the lives and actions of women as much as those of men. In a free country, it should be the right of every citizen to help in building up the State. Questions of cheap or dear food, adulteration of food, liquor traffic, education and protection of children, care of the old, housing and want of employment, hours and conditions of industry, and the position of Co-operation, Trade Unionism, and friendly societies, touch the lives of women at every point. Women having to share the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, should have the right to representation.

The manifesto was signed by the Women's Co-operative Guild (20,700 members), Women Textile Workers' Labour Representation Committee, Manchester and Salford Women's Trade and Labour Council (2,500 members), Women's Liberal Federation (76,000 members), Scottish Women's Liberal Federation (15,000 members), National British Women's Temperance Association (109,890 members), Women's Social and Political Union, Independent Labour Party (20,000 members), Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation (100,000 members), Amalgamated Felt Hat Trimmers and Wool Formers' Association, Operative Bleachers, Dyers, and Finishers' Association, and other societies.

**UNSUCCESSFUL L.R.C. CANDIDATURES.****BELFAST, N.**

Dixon (U.) .. .. .	4,907
Walker (Carp. and J.) .. ..	4,616

**BIRMINGHAM—BORDESLEY.**

Collings (U.) .. .. .	7,763
Glasier (I.L.P.) .. .. .	3,976

**BIRMINGHAM—EAST.**

Stone (U.) .. .. .	5,928
Holmes (A.S.R.S.) .. .. .	5,343

**CROYDON.**

Arnold-Forster (U.) .. .. .	8,248
Somerset (L.) .. .. .	7,241
Stranks (Stonemasons) .. ..	4,112

**DARLINGTON.**

Pease (U.) .. .. .	4,375
Mitchell (A.S.E.) .. .. .	4,087

**DEWSBURY.**

Runciman (L.) .. .. .	6,764
Carpenter (U.) .. .. .	2,959
Turner (Textile) .. .. .	2,629

**ECCLES.**

Pollard (L.) .. .. .	5,841
Stuttard (C.) .. .. .	5,246
Tillett (Dockers) .. .. .	3,985

**GLASGOW—CAMLACHIE.**

Cross (U.) .. .. .	3,119
Pringle (L.) .. .. .	2,871
Burgess (I.L.P.) .. .. .	2,568

**GOVAN.**

Duncan (U.) .. .. .	5,224
Murray (L.) .. .. .	5,096
Hill (Boiler Makers) .. .. .	4,212

**GRAVESEND.**

Parker (U.) .. .. .	3,102
Geary (L.) .. .. .	1,413
Macpherson (S.A.U.) .. .. .	873

**GRIMSBY.**

Doughty (U.) .. .. .	6,349
Haldinstein (L.) .. .. .	4,040
Proctor (A.S.E.) .. .. .	2,248

**HUDDERSFIELD.**

Woodhouse (L.) .. .. .	6,302
Williams (I.L.P.) .. .. .	5,813
Fraser (U.) .. .. .	4,391

**JARROW.**

Palmer (L.) .. .. .	8,047
Curran (Gasworkers) .. .. .	5,093

**LEEDS, SOUTH.**

Walton (L.) .. .. .	6,620
Fox (Loco. Eng.) .. .. .	4,030
Lucy (U.) .. .. .	2,126

**LIVERPOOL—KIRKDALE.**

M'Iver (U.) .. .. .	3,749
Conley (Boilermakers) .. ..	3,157

**LIVERPOOL—WEST  
TOXTETH.**

Houston (U.) .. .. .	3,373
Sexton (Dockers) .. .. .	2,952

**MONMOUTH BOROUGH.**

Haslam (L.) .. .. .	4,531
Nicholls (U.) .. .. .	3,939
Winstone (Miners) .. .. .	1,678

**PORTSMOUTH (2).**

Bramsdén (L.)	10,500
Baker (L.)	10,236
Sanders (I.L.P.)	8,172
Hills (U.)	7,970
Whitelaw (U.)	7,752
Jane (Naval)	1,859

**STOCKTON.**

Ropner (U.)	5,330
Mendl (L.)	3,675
Rose (A.S.E.)	2,710

**WAKEFIELD.**

Brotherton (U.)	2,120
Coit (I.L.P.)	2,000
Snape (L.)	1,100

**YORK, (2).**

Greenwood (L.)	6,413
Faber (U.)	6,100
Butcher (U.)	6,094
Stuart (Postmen)	4,573

**OTHER SOCIALIST CANDIDATURES.****ABERDEEN, N.**

Pirie (L.)	4,848
Kennedy (S.D.F.)	1,934
Barry (U.)	931

**ACCRINGTON.**

Leese (L.)	7,209
Irving (S.D.F.)	4,852
Holden (Ind.)	619

**AYRSHIRE, N.**

Cochrane (U.)	5,603
Anderson (L.)	4,587
Brown (S.W.C.)	2,683

**BRADFORD, E.**

Priestley (L.)	6,185
Caillard (U.)	4,277
Hartley (S.D.F.)	3,090

**BURNLEY.**

Maddison (L.)	5,288
Arbuthnot (U.)	4,964
Hyndman (S.D.F.)	4,932

**CAMBORNE.**

Dunn (L.)	4,614
Hewitt (U.)	2,834
Jones (S.D.F.)	109

**FALKIRK BURGHS.**

Macdonald (L.)	5,158
Keith (U.)	3,176
Gilmour (S.W.C.)	763

**HAMMERSMITH.**

Bull (U.)	5,111
Blaiklock (L.)	4,568
Belt (Ind. Soc.)	855

**KEIGHLEY.**

Brigg (L.)	5,323
Acworth (U.)	3,229
Newlove (Bricklayers & I.L.P.)	3,108

**LANARK, N.E.**

Findlay (L.)	6,436
Elliott (U.)	4,838
Robertson (Miners)	4,658

**LANARK, N.W.**

Thomson (U.)	5,588
Douglas (L.)	4,913
Sullivan (S.W.C.)	3,291

**MIDDLESBRO'**

Wilson (Lib.-Lab.)	9,271
Sadler (U.)	6,864
Lansbury (Soc.)	1,484

**NORTHAMPTON (2).**

Paul (L.)	4,472
Shipman (L.)	4,236
Orlebar (U.)	4,061
Barnes (U.)	3,987
Williams (S.D.F.)	2,537
Gribble (S.D.F.)	2,361

**PAISLEY.**

llum (L.) .. .. .	5,664
an (U.) .. .. .	2,594
3 (S.W.C.) .. .. .	2,482

**ROCHDALE.**

y (L.) .. .. .	5,912
(U.) .. .. .	4,449
n (Ind. Soc.) .. .. .	2,506

**SOUTHAMPTON (2).**

Phillips (L.) .. .. .	7,032
Ward (L.) .. .. .	6,255
Chamberlaye (U.) .. .. .	5,754
Aird (U.) .. .. .	5,535
Quelch (S.D.F.) .. .. .	2,146

**WIGAN.**

Powell (C.) .. .. .	3,573
Smith (Women's Suffr. & Lab.)	2,205
Woods (L.) .. .. .	1,900

**LABOUR AT THE POLLS.****AN ANALYSIS OF VOTES.**

Following table (A) shows the number of candidates, divided under the political groups; the number elected; and the votes polled by each group. There were four uncontested returns, namely, Rhondda, West Monmouth, Wigan, and Mid-Durham, all of which are mining constituencies with overwhelming Labour majorities. Their total electorate is 61,268, and as a rough estimate of the poll at this election, 35,000 votes have been added. It has been seen that there were altogether 21 Miners' candidates. The two candidates of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association ran under the L.R.C.

W. Taylor, candidate of the Durham Colliery Mechanics and Durham Trades Union, having joined the Labour Party in the House, has also been included with the L.R.C. candidates and Members.

**TABLE A.**

CANDIDATES OF EACH GROUP, NUMBER ELECTED, AND VOTES POLLED.

Description of Candidature.	No. of Candidates.	No. Elected.	Votes Polled (including Estimate for Unopposed Returns).
the L.R.C. (now the Labour Party), including 3 Miners' Candidates .. .. .	51	30	331,280
the Scottish Workers' Committee (all miners) .. .. .	5	—	14,878
8 Candidates not under either of above .. .. .	13	13	108,758*
Trade Union Candidates .. .. .	9	7	51,254
Democratic Fed. and Ind. Socialists .. .. .	11	—	24,473
<b>Totals .. .. .</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>530,643</b>

\* Including the four unopposed returns referred to above.

### Value of Votes.

Without going into exact questions of proportional representation, it is interesting to compare the total vote polled by a party with the total of its elected Members.

Excluding the Universities, and allowing for uncontested returns, the estimated Liberal and Unionist vote in Great Britain was 4,950,000, returning 507 Liberal and Unionist Members, which gives an average of 9,763 votes per Member. Deducting Belfast North, the Socialist and Labour poll of 526,000 returning 51 members, gives an average of 10,314 votes per Member.

### Other Interesting Candidatures.

Not included in Table A, nor in the analysis of votes that follows, are the following Liberals who ran as "Labour" candidates, viz., J. Burns, H. Broadhurst, F. Maddison, A. Richardson, and J. Rowlands. Their total vote was 43,266. Among Socialists who stood and were elected as official Liberals are P. Alden, Clement Edwards, and L. G. C. Money.

The Irish Labour Members include T. H. Sloan (Unionist), and the following Nationalists: E. Crean, W. Field, J. P. Nannetti, Kendal O'Brien, and D. D. Sheehan.

### Socialism and Trade Unionism.

The following tables (B. and C.) classify the Socialist and Labour candidates in such a way as to show the internal relations of Socialism and Trade Unionism. Membership of the Fabian Society has not been shown as that society does not officially promote candidates.

TABLE B.

CANDIDATES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR MEMBERSHIP OF  
SOCIALIST SOCIETIES AND TRADE UNIONS.

Description of Candidature.	I.L.P. only.	S.D.F. only.	I.L.P. and S.D.F.	Unat- tached Soc.	I.L.P. and T.U.	S.D.F. and T.U.	T.U. only.	Totals
Under L.R.C. ....	7	—	—	—	26	2	16*	51
" S.W.C. ....	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	5
Other Miners....	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	13
" T.U. ....	—	—	—	—	1	—	8	9
S.D.F. ....	—	7	1	—	—	—	—	8
Ind. Soc....	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	3
Totals ...	8	7	2	1	32	2	37*	80

\*Including W. Crooks J. Hodge, and B. Tillett.

**TABLE C.**  
**ELECTED MEMBERS CLASSIFIED AS ABOVE.**

Description of Candidature.	I.L.P. only.	I.L.P. and T.U.	S.D.F. and T.U.	T.U. only.	Totals.
er L.R.C. ... ..	4	13	1	12*	30
er Miners ... ..	—	—	—	13	13
T.U.'s ... ..	—	—	—	7	7
<b>Totals ... ..</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>32*</b>	<b>50</b>

\* Including W. Crooks and J. Hodge.

### The I.L.P. Vote.

Of the 51 L.R.C. candidatures, there were 41 officially promoted by Trade Unions and 10 officially promoted by the I.L.P. The 30 successful candidates included 23 of the former and seven of the latter. As there were 10 I.L.P. candidates in 1900, a comparison may readily be made.

**TABLE D.**  
**INCREASE OF I.L.P. OFFICIAL VOTE.**

Year.	No. of Candidates.	Votes Polled.	Average Vote.	Increase.
1900	10	37,207	3,720	—
1906	10	76,494	7,649	105 per cent.

There were also 23 other members of the I.L.P. among the L.R.C. candidates, their poll being 123,236. Of these, 10 were successful, making 10 members of the I.L.P. now in the House.

The Scottish Workers' candidates, who polled 14,878 votes, were all I.L.P. members; so also were J. Newlove (Bricklayers), S. G. Hobson (Ind. Soc.), and Mansbury (Ind. Soc.), who between them polled 7,088 votes. None of these were successful.

Thus the candidates who were **members of the I.L.P.** polled a total of **696** votes, which gives an average of **13,029** votes to each elected I.L.P. member, as compared with 10,314 for all Socialist and Labour Members, and 13 for Liberal and Conservative Members.

### Other Socialist Votes.

The eight official S.D.F. candidates, taking an average vote for the two Southampton candidates, polled 19,602, whilst Thorne and J. Macpherson (Avesend), Trade Union nominees, but members of the S.D.F., polled 11,083, giving a total poll for S.D.F. men of 30,685. Other L.R.C. candidates who



are declared Socialists, include Crooks, Hodge, and Tillett, who polled 21,565. One "unattached" Socialist received 885 votes.

Thus we have : Under the L.R.C., 232,378 ; others, 42,253, which gives the **declared Socialist candidates** a total poll of **274,631 votes**.

This calculation does not include those Fabians who did not run as declared Socialists, viz., Hudson (L.R.C.), and Steadman (T.U.) Nor does it include Wilkie (L.R.C.), Bowerman (L.R.C.), and Williams (Miners), all three of whom, with the support of the local Socialist parties, were enabled to defeat both Liberals and Conservatives in three-cornered contests.

By the following tables it will be seen that the vote cast for declared Socialists accounts for 70 per cent. of the L.R.C. vote, and for over 51 per cent. of the whole Labour vote at the Elections.

**TABLE E.**

L.R.C. VOTE ONLY.

For Declared Socialists.	For Others.	Total L.R.C. Vote.	Proportion Cast for Declared Socialists.
232,378	98,902	331,280	70 per cent.

**TABLE F.**

WHOLE LABOUR VOTE.

	For Declared Socialists.	For other L.R.C. Candidates.	Total of all L.R.C. and Socialists.	T.U. Group.	Total all Labour.
Votes polled ... ..	<b>274,631</b>	98,902	373,533	156,930	<b>530,463</b>
Percentage of whole ...	<b>51·8</b>	18·6	70·4	29·6	<b>100</b>

**The Three-corner Contests.**

The L.R.C. fought 19 three-corner contests, of which at least 13 were due to the introduction of a Liberal when the Labour man already was in the field. The net result was as follows :—

	Former Representatives.	Present Representatives.	Votes Polled (1906).
Unionists... ..	12	8	81,231
Liberals ... ..	6	5	91,011
Labour ... ..	1	6	84,698

## BY-ELECTIONS: 1906.

Constituency.	Date.	By-Election.	General Election, 1906.	Result.
Westbury (Wilts) .....	1906. Feb. 26	J. M. Fuller, L. ....	{ J. H. Fuller, L. .... 5,264 Lord Dunsany, U. .... 3,788 }	—
London (City) .....	" 27	{ A. J. Balfour, U. .... 15,474 Gibson Bowles, L. .... 4,134 }	{ Sir E. Clarke, U. .... 16,019 A. Gibbs, U. .... 15,619 Schuster, L. .... 3,313 Sir West Ridgway, L. .... 5,064 }	Increased U. Majority.
Aberdeenshire (East) .....	" 28	James Murray, L. ....	{ Jas. Annand, L. .... 6,149 A. W. Maconochie, U. .... 4,319 }	—
Galway (North) .....	" 28	lt. Hazleton, N. ....	{ Thos. Higgins, N. .... 2,585 Col. Nolan, N. .... 1,064 }	—
Leitrim (North) .....	" 28	C. J. Dolan, N. ....	P. A. McHugh, N. ....	—
Kilkenny (North) .....	March 3	Michael Meagher, N. ...	J. Devlin, N. ....	—
Basingstoke (Hants) .....	" 12	{ A. C. Salter, U. .... 4,852 H. C. W. Verney, L. .... 4,593 T. E. Falden, I.L. .... 467 }	{ A. F. Jeffreys, U. .... 4,825 H. C. W. Verney, L. .... 4,705 }	Increased U. Majority.
Leicester .....	" 30	{ Franklin Thomason, L. .... 10,766 Sir J. Rolleston, U. .... 7,206 }	{ H. Broadhurst, L. .... 14,745 J. R. Macdonald, Lab. .... 14,685 Sir J. Rolleston, U. .... 7,504 }	Decreased L. Majority.
Eye (Suffolk) .....	April 7	{ Harold Pearson, L. .... 4,568 Lord Graham, U. .... 4,371 }	F. S. Stevenson, L. ....	—

Constituency.	Date.	By-Election.	General Election, 1906.	Result.
	1906.			
Dulwich (Camberwell).....	May 15	{ A. Bonar Law, U. .... 6,709 { D. Williamson, L. .... 5,430	Rutherford Harris, U. .... 6,639 D. Williamson, L. .... 6,282	Increased U. Majority.
Eifon (Carnarvon).....	June 5	Ellis W. Davies, L. .... Unopp.	Bryn Roberts, L. .... Unopp.	—
London (City).....	" 15	Sir F. G. Banbury, U. .... Unopp.	(See above).	—
St. Georges (Hanover Sq.)....	" 15	Hon. A. Lyttelton, U. .... Unopp.	{ Col. Legge, U. .... 4,264 { M. C. Mallik, L. .... 2,191	—
Bodmin.....	July 24	{ F. Freeman Thomas, L. .... 4,969 { G. J. Sandys, U. .... 3,876	Agar Roberts, L. .... 5,201 Grylls, U. .... 4,029	Decreased Lib. Maj.
Tyrone (East).....	" 25	{ T. M. Kettle, N. .... 3,019 { W. J. Maccaw, U. .... 3,000	Doogan, N. .... 3,053 Maccaw, U. .... 3,022	Decreased N. Majority.
Cockermouth (Cumberland)...	Aug. 3	{ Sir J. Randles, U. .... 4,593 { Hon. F. Guest, L. .... 3,903 { Robt. Smillie, Lab. .... 1,436	{ Sir W. Lawson, L. .... 5,349 { Sir J. Randles, U. .... 4,786	Unionist Gain.
Denbigh (East).....	" 14	{ E. G. Hemmerde, L. .... 5,917 { H. S. Griffith Boscawen, U. 3,125	{ S. Moss ..... Unopp.	—
Glamorgan (Mid.).....	Oct. 8	S. T. Evans, L. .... Unopp.	S. T. Evans, L. .... Unopp.	—
Galway (City).....	Nov. 3	{ S. Gwynn, N. .... 253	{ C. R. Davlin, N. .... Unopp.	—

# THE SESSION OF 1906.

UP TO THE ADJOURNMENT FOR THE SUMMER VACATION.\*

By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE, AND G. C. COPE, Barrister-at-Law.

THE General Election of January, 1906, created an entirely new situation in British Politics. For the first time in the House of Commons a Government found itself in the position of a centre party, with opponents on both sides of

On the one hand, the Conservatives numbered 157, while on the other the Labour men and Irish together made up 113. The situation was therefore similar to that in Continental countries, where the former would be called the "Extreme Right," and the latter the "Extreme Left." Meanwhile, inside the Liberal ranks, Whigs of the Asquith-Haldane type inclined towards the "Right," while the members of the Trade Union Labour Party and the other "Lib-Labs." inclined towards the "Left."

The Government Party found itself in a clear majority of 130† (400 to 270) over all other sections, and were thus absolutely free to follow their own course of action, so long as they could count upon the allegiance of their own followers. This state of affairs was also the best possible thing for the new Labour Party of 113 members, which was enabled to take its own line, untrammelled by considerations of political compromise.

## Not Justified Expectations.

In spite of their large independent majority, the Government have by no means justified the expectations formed of them in the country at the General Election. On many matters both legislative and administrative, they have exhibited an almost incredible political cowardice; while, instead of taking advantage of the wave of popular enthusiasm for reform on which they were returned to power, they have contented themselves with half-measures which have pleased no one.

The Bill which they introduced for dealing with trade disputes was totally inadequate, and two days after its introduction they were obliged to promise to remodel it completely at the dictates of the Labour Party.

They failed to bring in any measure for meeting the evil of unemployment, and the small contribution of £200,000 which they finally promised to make towards the expenses of the relief committees was wrung from them by the Labour Opposition.

In their Education Bill they refused to adopt the one natural solution of secular education, and preferred a compromise which is certain to mean a resuscitation of the religious controversy at an early date; in their Plural Voting Bill they attempted to deal with a small matter of franchise reform, when the much larger questions of the removal of the sex disqualification and universal Adult Suffrage were ripe for settlement; in the Budget they refused to place additional burdens on the rich, and therefore found no place for Old-age Pensions; in the Army and Navy they made no substantial reductions of the schemes of their predecessors. The Workmen's Compensation Bill (see below), though good so far as it went, required considerable amendment in order to be adequate to the requirements of to-day, and even then stopped short of any

\* An account of the autumn sitting will be found on pp. 272.

† The "Trade Union" Labour who sit upon the Liberal side have been, of course, included in the Government Party. If they be placed in Opposition the majority works out at 92 (381 to 289).

scheme of compulsory insurance. On the other hand, two minor measures, the first for removing the property qualification of county magistrates, the second for building labourers' cottages in Ireland by the State, both of which became law on August 4th, are admitted by all Reformers to be steps in the right direction.

In matters of administration there are one or two minor matters of advance to record. Flogging has been practically abolished in the Army and in the Navy, and at the request of the Labour Party, the Trade Unions will have in future some standing in Government workshops. On nearly all other questions both at home and abroad their record has been one of continual failure to do what Reformers have demanded of them. In Woolwich Arsenal, in the Pimlico Clothing Factory, and in other Government workshops, they have won for themselves the opposition of the employés.

In Natal they showed themselves afraid of a noisy Jingo section, and refused to interfere to prevent vindictive executions under Martial Law (see page 179); in India they opposed Keir Hardie's modest proposal that the salary of the Secretary should be placed on the British Estimates, a proposal supported by all Indian Reformers, as the first step in the right direction; in the Transvaal (see p 180), while taking no adequate steps to secure the repatriation of the Chinese, they accorded to the people a constitution which gerrymandered the franchise, was unjust to women, and failed to secure any real freedom for the miners on the Rand in recording their vote. In Egyptian affairs they stifled discussion over a matter of serious miscarriage of justice, and in their relationship to Russia they refused to cancel the visit of the British Fleet, which would have been construed as an honour to the bureaucracy.

### **What the Labour Party has done.**

While the Liberal Government have thus been failing to justify the confidence of their supporters, the Labour Party have won for themselves the respect of nearly all thinking men; and the independent attitude which Keir Hardie has so long advocated alone he has been able to put into practical effect for the first time. Apart from their achievements in the Trades Disputes Bill and the Workmen's Compensation Bill, the Labour men pressed forward a number of important questions. Among these were the feeding of school children and the exclusion of alien blacklegs, both referred to below. Other matters were Old-age Pensions, on which O'Grady carried a resolution; Women's Suffrage, introduced by Keir Hardie; Natal, on which the Government were repeatedly questioned by Macdonald; and Russia, to which Will Thorne paid special attention.

### **THE EDUCATION BILL.**

Nearly one-third of the whole time of the House of Commons up to the Summer Vacation was taken up by the Government's Education Bill. The main features of the measure, as it finally emerged from Committee, were as follows:—

- (1) In future no schools, with the special exception of those mentioned below under (4) to receive State aid or Local aid unless they are under the direct control of the Local Authorities.
- (2) The existing non-provided schools, i.e., those, at the date of the passing of the Bill, only partially under Local control, to be taken over by the Local Authorities by mutual agreement.

By this agreement the Local Authorities to pay a sum down for the schools, and to be in future entirely responsible for the upkeep, while the previous owners abandon all control of the management.

In general the Local Authorities to be free to provide religious teaching or not, as they please; but any such teaching must be non-sectarian, *i.e.*, the old "Board School religion."

Under certain circumstances, an agreement along these lines may be compulsory.

- (3) But if the original owners and the Local Authority so agree, then as part of the bargain between them, special religious instruction may be given.
- (4) And in the event of four-fifths of the parents desiring it, the Local Authority may, if it thinks fit, provide facilities for special religious instruction; but such instruction shall not be paid for by the Local Authority.

If the Local Authority does not think fit to give such facilities, then the Board of Education may either order the Local Authority to do so, or it may retain the school as a State-aided school although it be not a "school provided by the Local Authority." This, therefore, makes a distinct exception to the rule in Clause 1, and places such schools outside the unified system of education contemplated in the Bill.

Other clauses provided that attendance should not be compulsory excepting secular instruction; that teachers should not be subject to any religious; and that there should be a special Council for Wales.

The Bill passed its Third Reading in the Commons on July 30th, and awaited discussion in the Lords in the autumn. (See page 272.)

The principal objection of the Labour Party to the Bill was that it did not reduce the principle that the education, so far as supplied by the State, must be secular only; but that it left the whole religious controversy still rampant in the schools.

## TRADE UNIONS AND TRADE DISPUTES.

In accordance with the instructions of the Trade Union Congress, a Bill dealing with this subject was drafted by the Parliamentary Committee, and introduced by Hudson on February 22nd. The Government also introduced a Bill on March 28th. Owing to the extreme importance of the subject, it was necessary to consider in detail the terms and progress of both these Bills. Hudson's Bill was similar to that introduced in the Session of 1905. It proposed—

- (1) To legalise peaceful picketing;
- (2) To amend the law of conspiracy so that no longer should two or more persons acting together in a trade dispute be liable to be sued for acts for which they would not be liable if acting independently.
- (3) To prevent Trade Unions being sued or their funds becoming liable for damages resulting to employers from any act of any member of the Trade Union.

The Government Bill, on the other hand, while its first two clauses proceeded on similar lines to those of Hudson's Bill, dealt differently with the matter of general liability of Trade Unions and their funds. It substituted a comatated clause, the effect of which was that the Trade Union funds would be liable for wrongful acts committed by their agent. But they would be able to discharge the liability where either—

- (1) The agent acted contrary to the definite instructions of his committee; or,
- (2) Where his action was repudiated by his committee after it had been committed.

This clause did not give satisfaction to the Labour Party, and they pressed forward their own Bill, which was read a second time, the Government themselves voting for it, on March 30th.

David Shackleton, interviewed for the *Labour Record and Review*, expressed his opinion that the Government Bill put a tremendous premium upon dishonesty by tempting Trade Union executives to give to their agents "official" instructions, while instructing them privately to act on their own initiative in cases of emergency; moreover, the Bill introduced a network of legal tangles as a result of which Trade Union funds would find their way into lawyers' pockets. He further explained that the immunity demanded by the Unions was the only just solution. At present, with a semblance of equality between the employers and the Unions, there was really total inequality, and that for two reasons:—

- (1) Because, while evidence of illegality in the case of a Trade Union can easily be collected, a similar illegality on the part of an employer would be absolutely out of sight.
- (2) Because the damages sustained by an employer can be assessed in money, while the no less serious damages suffered by a Trade Union are unassessable.

So strong was the support the Labour Party received in the House that the Government, on going to a second reading of their own Bill on April 25th, were obliged to promise that they would consent so to amend the clause in committee as to give the immunity desired by the Unions.

In Committee the new clause was produced, and read as follows:—

An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union for the recovery of damages in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any Court; provided that nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of such unions to be sued in the events provided for by the Trades Union Act, 1871, section 9.

This was carried by 259 to 29, and after two amendments enlarging the scope so as to include branches of a Trade Union, and officers as well as members, the Bill passed through Committee stage. In this form it awaited "Report" in the autumn sitting. (See page 272.)

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

THE Government Bill dealing with workmen's compensation was introduced on March 26th. It proposed to extend the scope of compensation in two important particulars.

Firstly, while the Act of 1897 provided compensation only in certain employments specifically mentioned, the new Bill included all employments, except a few expressly excluded.

Secondly, it extended the right of compensation to cases of diseases resulting from certain processes.

The Bill in its original form also made several other alterations in the existing law.

It was discussed on April 4th, and passed its Second Reading April 10th, and was referred to the Standing Committee on Law, who adopted several amendments further extending the scope of the measure. At this point it contained the following proposed alterations to the existing law:—

1. "Workman" was now defined so as to bring seamen and all manual workers, and also clerks, shop assistants, or others with a salary

of not more than £250, the only exceptions being (a) persons employed casually or otherwise than in the employer's business; (b) policemen; (c) out-workers; (d) domestic servants; and (e) home-workers.

2. Compensation to be given after three days' disablement, instead of a fortnight.
3. Compensation to be given for diseases arising from processes connected with wool, hides, lead, mercury, phosphorus, arsenic, and from mining occupations. Compensation in this case to date from the day of the accident. But no compensation to be given if a worker on being engaged untruly denies that he has suffered previously. Workers to give names and addresses of employers for previous 12 months.
4. No longer need a quarry be 20ft. deep or a building 30ft. high to entitle a workman to compensation for injuries sustained there. A whole list of uncertainties like this was dispelled.
5. No longer was compensation to be calculated on the wages received while working "for the same employer," with the result sometimes of a man being awarded only a few pence a week.
6. "Dependants" now to include brother, sister, half-brother, and half-sister.
7. Employers to be allowed to engage workmen above 60 years of age on the special terms of limiting compensation to 10s. a week, while increasing the compensation of minors.
8. (a) No scheme of compensation or insurance to be imposed upon workers in place of this Act unless adopted on a ballot by a majority of them; and (b) there would have to be a provision entitling workers to withdraw from the scheme.

The Standing Committee seem to have counted upon Parliament making further provision for general, and perhaps for State, insurance as might meet the difficulties of the small employer, and insure payment of compensation when accidents occurred.

In this form the Bill awaited the consideration of the House in the Autumn ng. (See page 272.)

## THE FEEDING OF NECESSITOUS SCHOOL CHILDREN.

The Labour Party's Bill dealing with this subject was introduced by W. T. Wilson on February 22nd. It provided that:—

1. The Local Authority may feed children who from insufficient food cannot take full advantage of the education provided.
2. The cost, where desired, may be recovered from parents or guardians.
3. Such feeding is not to be deemed parochial relief.

In spite of opposition from some Conservatives, and from Harold Cox, the Liberal member for Preston, the Bill passed its second reading on March 2nd without a division, and, the Government having "fathered" it by promising to enable it to get through during the Session, it was sent to a Select Committee.



After amendment and amalgamation with a Scottish Bill having the same object, it was held over to the Autumn. (See page 272.)

### THE ALIENS BILL (1906).

On March 21st, O'Grady introduced a Bill drawn up in accordance with Keir Hardie's amendment of the previous year, which would have the effect of making "blacklegs" imported from foreign countries "undesirable aliens" within the meaning of the Act of 1905.

The Bill passed through all its stages in the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords on May 17th. The news having been brought to the Commons. Keir Hardie asked what action the Government intended taking. He claimed that the Bill, having been sent up unanimously by the Commons, the Government had failed in their duty towards the Bill by not authorising some member of the Cabinet to take responsibility for it in the Lords. Had that been done, it would have been read a second time, that being the offer made by the Opposition in the other place. This incident raised the whole question whether democracy in Great Britain was to be a reality or a sham.

Nothing, however, was done.

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**PARLIAMENTARY CHRONOLOGY.\***

*(The names following the subject refer to the Labour Men taking part in the discussion.)*

**ALIENS ACT.**

- Mch. 5. Mr. Gladstone's attention drawn to the administration; Macdonald.  
 „ 12, 14. Mr. Gladstone's amended regulations.

**ALIENS BILL.**

- „ 21. Bill introduced by O'Grady; April 9, second reading; April 25, 26, 30, May 2, through committee; May 8, 3rd reading.  
 May 17. Bill rejected by the Lords, 96—24.  
 „ 17. Keir Hardie in the Commons discusses the rejection by the Lords.

**THE ARMY.**

- Mch. 8. The Estimates. Arsenal employés; Macdonald, Barnes, and Crooks.  
 „ 15. Reduction of 10,000 men moved by Major Seely lost by 296—56.  
 „ 19, 20. Vote for pay agreed to.  
 „ 26. Flogging in the Army declared abolished. Hardie.  
 „ 29, Ap. 24. Further Army votes carried.  
 July 12. Haldane's Army scheme propounded.  
 „ 19. Discussion on Army reduction.

**THE BUDGET.**

- April 30, May 1. Budget introduced and passed. (See pp. 73, 74, 75.)

**CHINESE LABOUR.**

*(A special article on this subject appears on page 104.)*

- Feb. 22. The Address. Conservative amendment. Shackleton.  
 „ 23. Debate continued. Government majority, 416—91.  
 Mch. 14. C B. refuses a Royal Commission. Debate on the Anglo-Chinese Convention.  
 „ 21. Chamberlain's amendment defeated, 378—110; Seddon.  
 Motion of censure on Lord Milner for permitting the flogging of coolies.  
 May 3. Proclamation to Chinese coolies *re* repatriation.  
 June 8. Proclamation criticised; Macdonald.  
 „ 20. Question asked, "Why does the proclamation say 'tremble and obey.'"  
 „ 25. Defence of the Government that the words were formal merely.  
 July 4, 5. Promise of an amended proclamation; recruiting to stop Nov. 30.

**COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.**

- Feb. 22. Introduced by Mr. Brunner.  
 May 11. 2nd reading carried and referred to Departmental Committee; E. Edwards, J. Wilson, Burt, Brace, Fenwick, Glover, Walsh, J. Johnson, Abraham.

**EDUCATION BILL.**

- April 9. Introduced by Mr. Birrell; Macdonald.  
 May 7, 8, 9, 10. Second reading; Macdonald, Snowden.  
 „ 21, 22, 23, 28. In committee, 1st clause carried; Macdonald, Hardie.  
 June 11, 12, 19. Clause 2 carried; Macdonald.  
 „ 20. Clause 3 carried.  
 „ 25, 26, 27. Clauses 4 and 5; Macdonald.  
 July 2, 3, 4. Clauses 6, 7, 8.  
 „ 9, 10, 11. Clauses 8-18 and 26-33 carried; Shackleton.  
 „ 16, 17, 18. Bill through Committee; Macdonald.  
 „ 23, 24, 25. Bill through Report.  
 „ 30. Third reading carried, 369—177.

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\*For Chronology of Autumn Session see page 272.

**EDUCATION (PROVISION OF MEALS) BILL**

- Feb. 22. Introduced by W. T. Wilson.  
 Mch. 2. Second reading carried; Wilson, Henderson, Jowett.  
 „ 9. Select Committee appointed, including Henderson.  
 July 17. Report brought up and read.  
 „ 25. Consolidated with Scottish Bill.  
 „ 27. Recommitted to a committee of whole House.  
 (Adjourned to Autumn Sitting.)  
 This Bill must not be confused with the "Elementary Education Bill" for providing secular education, medical examination, and food for school children drafted by Parliamentary Committee of T.U. Congress, and introduced by Will Thorne, April 2, and subsequently dropped.

**HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.**

- Feb. 22. Bill introduced by Mr. Mackarness.  
 Apl. 27. Read a second time, and referred to Select Committee.  
 May 7. Demand that a member of Labour Party should be on committee. Hardie, Crooks.  
 „ 8. Demand pressed and refused. Hardie, Shackleton, Crooks.  
 (Adjourned to Autumn Sitting.)  
 Another Bill was introduced by Mr. Steadman on Mch. 15 and subsequently dropped.

**JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.**

- Mch. 23. Bill introduced to abolish property qualification for county justices.  
 Apl. 24. Read a second time.  
 „ 25, May 1, 2. Committee stage.  
 May 7, 15. Third reading.  
 July 16. Lords' amendments agreed to.  
 Aug. 4. Royal assent.

**LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.**

- May 23. Bill introduced to provide labourers' cottages by the State.  
 June 13. Second reading carried.  
 July 17. Reported with amendments.  
 „ 23. Third reading carried.  
 Aug. 1. Lords' amendments considered and further amended.  
 „ 4. Royal assent.

**LAND TENURE BILL.**

- Feb. 22. Introduced by Mr. Agar-Robartes.  
 Mch. 9. Second reading, 334—81. Sent to Standing Committee on Trade.  
 May 14. Reported with amendments.  
 June 22, 29. Clause 1 carried by 290—74.  
 (Adjourned to Autumn Sitting.)

**LAND VALUES TAXATION (SCOTLAND.)**

- Feb. 22. Introduced by Mr. Sutherland.  
 Mch. 23. Second reading carried, 319—61.  
 Apl. 24, May 3. Sent to Select Committee.  
 (Adjourned to Autumn Sitting.)

**MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT AMENDMENT BILL.**

- Mch. 20. Introduced by Mr. Lloyd George to deal with shipowners and seamen.  
 „ 27. Second reading agreed to and sent to Standing Committee on Trade.  
 June 18. Reported with amendments.  
 (Adjourned to Autumn Sitting.)

**MISCELLANEOUS.**

- Feb. 22. Coal Mines Regulation Bill introduced; Abraham, E. Edwards, Brace, Hardie.  
 „ 27. Truck. Motion to abolish fines. Shackleton, Seddon, Hardie.  
 Compulsory Weighing Bill introduced by Barnes.  
 Mch. 2. Manhood Suffrage Bill introduced. Mch. 8, debate adjourned.  
 „ 12, 13. Free Trade resolution carried, 474—98.

- b. 22. Town Tenants (Ireland) Bill introduced. May 18, second reading. July 24, reported. Adjourned to autumn.
- „ 27. Police Superannuation Bill introduced. Mch. 6, 21, 26, second reading; April 3, reported; April 24, third reading; June 22, Royal assent.
- ch. 6, 9. Committee of nine, including Wardle, appointed to inquire into wages, &c., of postal employés.
- „ 6. Resolution carried in favour of payment of election expenses.
- „ 7. Ditto, payment of M.P.'s, 348—110.
- „ 16. Railway servants' hours reduction: Resolution in favour of, agreed to.
- „ 21. Metropolitan Police (Commission) Bill introduced. May 22, 25, second reading; May 29, 30, in committee and third reading; June 22, Royal assent.
- „ 22, June 15. Public Trustee Bill read first and second time.
- „ 28. Musical Copyright Bill introduced (T. P. O'Connor). June 8, second reading; June 13, 26, 28, July 16, committee; July 19, report; July 31, third reading; Aug. 4, Royal assent.
- pl. 10. Local Option: resolution in favour carried, 271-44.
- „ 11. Hours of Labour (Bakehouses) Bill introduced by Wilkie. The Congo; Macdonald. Macedonia.
- lay 4. Graduated income tax; committee, including Hardie, appointed to inquire into proposals.
- Second reading of Light Dues (Abolition) Bill rejected, 169—142; Seddon, Wardle, O'Grady.
- „ 8. Fatal Accidents (Scotland) Bill introduced. June 15, second reading; Hudson. July 28, third reading. Aug. 4, Royal assent.
- „ 11. Coal Mines Regulation Bill second reading talked out.
- „ 23. Reform demanded in Macedonia.
- July 5. Egypt. The Congo; Hardie.
- „ 20. Indian Budget. Keir Hardie's amendment defeated, 153—89.
- „ 28. Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill introduced by Mr. Sinclair.
- Aug. 1. Factory inspection discussion; Macdonald, Gill, Jowett, O'Grady, T. Richards, Shackleton.
- „ 31. Transvaal Constitution discussed; Macdonald.

#### NATAL.

- Mch. 29. Information asked for by Government *re* twelve natives to be executed; Macdonald.
- Apr. 2. Macdonald complains of administration of martial law in Natal.
- June 8. Macdonald criticises the Poll Tax.
- „ 13. Macdonald questions Churchill about Dinizulu.
- „ 20. Statement that the determination of martial law rests with Natal Ministers.
- „ 21. Question by Jowett as to sending captured Zulus to the Kimberley Mines.
- „ 25. Request by Macdonald for report on proceeding of the court martial sentencing 12 natives to death.
- July 11, 16, 26. Questions by Hardie, Macdonald, and Mr. Alden.
- „ 31, Aug. 4. Macdonald on the improper trial of a native chief.

#### THE NAVY.

- Feb. 19. Estimates presented—32 million pounds, 129,000 men and boys.
- „ 20, 21. The Address. Flogging temporarily abolished.
- Mch. 1. Mr. E. Robertson's speech; wages of employers; Jenkins, Summerbell, Hardie.
- „ 7, 19, May 24, July 13. Various votes agreed to.
- July 27. Shipbuilding programme outlined; Hardie.

#### OLD AGE PENSIONS.

- Feb. 20. The Address; George Barnes.
- „ 26. Cost of 5s. a week pension to all over 65 declared by Asquith to be 26 millions per annum.
- Mch. 14. O'Grady's resolution in favour of O.A.P. agreed to; Crooks.

#### PLURAL VOTING BILL.

- May 2. Bill introduced by Mr. Harcourt to prevent plural voting.
- „ 14. Second reading carried, 403—95; Summerbell, Crooks. (Adjourned to Autumn Sitting.)

**TRADE DISPUTE BILLS.**

- Feb. 22. Bill drafted by Parliamentary Committee of T.U. Congress introduced by Hudson.  
 Mch. 28. Government Bill providing partial financial immunity introduced.  
 „ 30. Hudson's Bill passed second reading, 416-66; Hudson, Hardie, Shackleton.  
 Apl. 25. Second reading of Government Bill agreed to on understanding that immunity be made complete. Hudson's Bill dropped.  
 July 27. Clause 1 carried through committee.  
 Aug. 3. Bill through committee, including new clause relating to financial immunity.

**THE UNEMPLOYED.**

- Feb. 26. On the Address, amendment moved by Mr. Hay negatived.  
 Apl. 11. On motion for adjournment. Question by Hardie.  
 May 30. Assurance demanded by Barnes that something should be done during the session; Thorne, Hardie, Crooks. No definite answer.  
 July 19. Promise of £200,000 by Burns; Macdonald, Crooks.

**WOMEN.**

- Feb. 22. Local Authorities (Qualification Women) Bill introduced by Mr. Silcock. Adjourned to autumn.  
 „ 22. Women's Franchise Bill introduced by Sir C. Dilke.  
 Mch. 2. Second reading talked out by Mr. Evans. Withdrawn.  
 Apl. 25. Enfranchisement resolution moved by Keir Hardie; Cremer and Evans opposing, interruptions from ladies' gallery.  
 June 21. Miss Billington's sentence; Hardie, Shackleton, Seddon.  
 July 5. Sentences on Miss Kenney and women; Hardie.

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL.**

- Mch. 26. Introduced by Mr. Gladstone (Home Secretary) to extend operation of Compensation Acts.  
 Apl. 4, 10. Second reading. Sent to Standing Committee on Law.  
 June 26. Reported with considerable extensions made in committee.  
 (Adjourned to Autumn Sitting.)

**RICHES AND POVERTY.**

(From the investigation of Mr. L. G. Chiozza-Money)

THE probability is that of the £11,000,000,000 of private property belonging to people of the country, nearly the whole is owned by persons who with their families number only 5,000,000 in a population of 43,000,000.

Even more startling is the fact that only 117,030 persons, who with their families number but some 600,000 of the population, own £5,916,000,000 of property. That is to allow nothing for the fact that the figures understate the truth because of property which eludes taxation. Therefore we are able to assert, as an understatement of the actual facts, that about one-seventieth part of the population owns far more than one-half of the entire accumulated wealth, public and private, of the United Kingdom.

**Distribution of Income.**

It may be taken as roughly correct that the total National Income of 1,710 millions is divided as follows: 880 millions among 38 million people; 245 millions among  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of people; 585 millions among  $1\frac{1}{4}$  millions of people.

Thus to the conclusion that nearly one-half of the entire income of the nation is enjoyed by but one-ninth of its population, we must add another even more remarkable, viz.: that more than one-third of the entire income of the United Kingdom is enjoyed by less than one-thirtieth of its people.

## NATIONAL FINANCE.

the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith) made his Budget statement April 30th, 1906. The principal changes in expenditure were a reduction of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions on the navy, an increase of a million on education, and of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions on the sinking fund. But owing to the natural growth of revenue, which had resulted in a surplus of three millions on the previous year, he was enabled to make certain reductions in taxation. These were the abolition of excess duty on stripped tobacco, the abolition of the export coal duty, and the reduction of the tea duty from 6d. to 5d.

Mr. Asquith made no change in the income-tax, but moved for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the question of graduation. This Committee, which included Keir Hardie, sat during the session.

This is the first Liberal budget for 10 years, and may be compared with Conservative budgets of the past and with the Labour budget put forward by Keir Hardie, which will be found on page 76. The principal feature of Liberal finance is the rapid growth of expenditure upon "imperial expansion," paid for by increased taxation. The feature of Labour finance is retrenchment. The feature of Labour finance is the increase of expenditure upon the wants of the people as a whole. These three are utterly distinct.

The Budget for the last 10 years will be found on the next page, while on page 118 will be found an account of a scheme for graduating the income-tax.

### TAXATION, 1st April, 1906—31st March, 1907.

—CUSTOMS: Import Taxes:			Per	£ s. d.
Coffee (dried) .....	lb.	0	0	2
Currants .....	cwt.	0	2	0
Figs, Raisins, &c. ....	"	0	7	0
Sugar .....	"	0	4	2
Tea .....	lb.	0	0	5
Tobacco (moist) stemmed .....	"	0	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
"          "          unstemmed .....	"	0	3	0
"          (dry)      stemmed .....	"	0	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
"          "          unstemmed .....	"	0	3	4
Wines .....	various.			
Beer .....	barrel.	0	8	0
Spirits (proof) .....	gal.	0	11	4
Miscellaneous .....				
—EXCISE.				
Beer .....	barrel.	0	7	9
Spirits (proof) .....	gal.	0	11	0
—INCOME TAX (with exemptions)	£1=	0	1	0
—ESTATES, value up to £500 .....	£100=	1	0	0
"          "          £1,000 .....	"	2	0	0
"          "          £10,000 .....	"	3	0	0
"          "          £25,000 .....	"	4	0	0
"          "          £50,000 .....	"	4	10	0
"          "          £75,000 .....	"	5	0	0
"          "          £100,000 .....	"	5	10	0
"          "          £150,000 .....	"	6	0	0
"          "          £250,000 .....	"	6	10	0
"          "          £500,000 .....	"	7	0	0
"          "          £1,000,000 .....	"	7	10	0
"          "          over £1,000,000 .....	"	8	0	0
Legacy and Succession Duties .....	various.			
—STAMP DUTIES .....	various.			
—HOUSE DUTY .....	various.			
Land Tax .....	various.			

<b>A.—INCOME.</b>	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
<b>I. TAXES.</b>	£	£	£	£	£
Customs .....	21,254,000	21,798,000	20,850,000	23,800,000	26,260,000
Excise .....	27,460,000	28,300,000	29,200,000	32,100,000	33,100,000
Estate Duties .....	10,830,000	11,100,000	11,400,000	14,020,000	12,980,000
Stamps .....	7,350,000	7,650,000	7,630,000	8,500,000	7,820,000
Land Tax & House Duty .....	2,430,000	2,450,000	2,370,000	2,460,000	2,470,000
Income Tax .....	16,650,000	17,250,000	18,000,000	18,750,000	26,920,000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>85,974,000</b>	<b>88,548,000</b>	<b>89,450,000</b>	<b>99,630,000</b>	<b>109,560,000</b>
<b>II. TRADING RECEIPTS.</b>					
Post Office.....	11,860,000	12,170,000	12,710,000	13,300,000	13,800,000
Telegraph Service .....	2,910,000	3,010,000	3,150,000	3,350,000	3,450,000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>14,770,000</b>	<b>15,180,000</b>	<b>15,860,000</b>	<b>16,650,000</b>	<b>17,250,000</b>
<b>III. CROWN LANDS, Int. on Suez Canal Shrs. &amp;c.</b>	1,109,000	1,149,000	1,144,000	1,284,000	1,330,000
<b>IV. MISCELLANEOUS</b> .....	2,097,000	1,737,000	1,847,000	2,276,000	2,240,000
<b>Grand Total</b> .....	<b>103,950,000</b>	<b>106,614,000</b>	<b>108,301,000</b>	<b>119,840,000</b>	<b>130,380,000</b>
<b>B.—EXPENDITURE.</b>					
<b>I. ORDINARY SERVICES.</b>					
Army .....	18,270,000	19,330,000	20,000,000	20,600,000	24,470,000
Navy .....	22,170,000	20,850,000	24,068,000	26,000,000	29,520,000
Education, &c. ....	10,503,000	11,509,000	11,966,000	12,176,000	12,640,000
Other Civil Services .....	9,542,000	10,051,000	10,059,000	10,354,000	10,850,000
Customs & Inland Rev....	2,716,000	2,745,000	2,816,000	2,800,000	2,830,000
National Debt Services...	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	23,000,000	18,450,000
Other Consol. Fund Services .....	1,643,000	1,886,000	2,044,000	2,734,000	2,720,000
Interest on War Loans ...	....	....	....	217,000	1,380,000
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>89,844,000</b>	<b>91,371,000</b>	<b>95,953,000</b>	<b>97,881,000</b>	<b>102,880,000</b>
<b>II. TRADING.</b>					
Post Office .....	7,150,000	7,592,000	8,030,000	8,480,000	8,960,000
Telegraph Service .....	2,961,000	3,226,000	3,347,000	3,601,000	3,730,000
Packet Service.....	723,000	747,000	820,000	760,000	770,000
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>10,834,000</b>	<b>11,565,000</b>	<b>12,197,000</b>	<b>12,841,000</b>	<b>13,470,000</b>
<b>III. SPECIAL</b> .....	799,000 (Egypt).	....	....	23,000,000 S.A. War.	67,230,000 ( )
<b>Grand Total</b> .....	<b>101,477,000</b>	<b>102,936,000</b>	<b>108,150,000</b>	<b>133,722,000</b>	<b>183,580,000</b>

# HEET FOR TEN YEARS.

Years ended March 31st.

75

1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907. Estimate.
£	£	£	£	£	£
30,993,000	34,433,000	33,850,000	35,730,000	34,475,000	32,230,000
31,600,000	32,100,000	31,550,000	30,750,000	30,230,000	30,200,000
14,200,000	13,870,000	13,000,000	12,350,000	12,970,000	13,200,000
7,800,000	8,200,000	7,500,000	7,700,000	8,180,000	8,150,000
2,500,000	2,550,000	2,650,000	2,750,000	2,670,000	2,650,000
34,800,000	38,800,000	30,800,000	31,250,000	31,350,000	31,500,000
<b>121,893,000</b>	<b>129,933,000</b>	<b>119,350,000</b>	<b>120,530,000</b>	<b>119,875,000</b>	<b>117,930,000</b>
14,300,000	14,750,000	15,450,000	16,100,000	16,880,000	17,395,000
3,490,000	3,630,000	3,700,000	3,830,000	4,130,000	4,350,000
<b>17,790,000</b>	<b>18,380,000</b>	<b>19,150,000</b>	<b>19,930,000</b>	<b>21,010,000</b>	<b>21,745,000</b>
1,325,000	1,413,000	1,443,000	1,484,000	1,579,000	1,580,000
1,990,000	1,826,000	1,603,000	1,426,000	1,514,000	1,500,000
<b>142,998,000</b>	<b>151,552,000</b>	<b>141,546,000</b>	<b>143,370,000</b>	<b>143,978,000</b>	<b>142,755,000</b>
29,312,000	29,440,000	29,500,000	29,225,000	28,850,000	29,796,000
31,030,000	31,170,000	34,457,000	36,830,000	33,300,000	31,869,000
12,799,000	13,038,000	} 26,561,000	27,450,000	28,430,000	29,452,000
11,101,000	12,312,000		3,093,000	3,148,000	3,212,000
2,955,000	3,040,000	27,000,000	27,000,000	28,025,000	28,500,000
18,319,000	23,000,000	2,919,000	2,765,000	2,781,000	2,845,000
2,797,000	2,789,000	....	....	....	....
3,367,000	4,282,000				
<b>111,680,000</b>	<b>119,071,000</b>	<b>123,550,000</b>	<b>126,363,000</b>	<b>124,534,000</b>	<b>125,674,000</b>
9,240,000	9,630,000	10,068,000	10,198,000	10,630,000	11,093,000
4,010,000	4,162,000	4,549,000	4,660,000	4,648,000	4,923,000
762,000	771,000	787,000	735,000	700,000	731,000
<b>14,012,000</b>	<b>14,563,000</b>	<b>15,404,000</b>	<b>15,593,000</b>	<b>15,978,000</b>	<b>16,747,000</b>
3 9,830,000	50,850,000	5,000,000	500,000	....	....
China, Wars	& Somaliland	Expedition.)	(Somaliland.)	....	....
<b>185,522,000</b>	<b>184,484,000</b>	<b>143,954,000</b>	<b>141,956,000</b>	<b>140,512,000</b>	<b>142,421,000</b>



## A LABOUR BUDGET.

THE figures on the foregoing pages may be compared with the proposed Budget drawn out by Keir Hardie for 1906-7, and published in the *Financial Review of Reviews* for April, 1906. His object, as he says, was to abolish the breakfast table duties and the coal tax; pay for all education and the poor from imperial (as against local) funds; provide old-age pensions, and other reforms.

To do all this would, he reckoned, cost some 57 million pounds per annum, too big a change to be adopted all at once. He accordingly made a selection of things most urgently in need of being done. He estimated as follows:—

	Million Pounds.
Taking over the local expenditure on education .....	10
Provision for the feeding of school children .....	1
Provision for the unemployed .....	1
Old age pensions for all over 65 (making allowances) .....	14
Additional wages for government employes, including postal employes .....	1
Repeal of the breakfast table duties .....	12
Repeal of the coal tax .....	2
Total .....	41

In order to meet this, he proposed to obtain an additional 16 millions from graduation of income-tax (see page 118), 4 millions from increased death duties, 6 millions from increased liquor licenses, 2 millions from reduced Army expenditure, and 10 millions by resumption of the amount at present handed over to local bodies. This, with the natural increase of revenue in the course of the year, would give the required amount. The figures, built up on the actual figures for 1905-6, worked out as follows:—

### KEIR HARDIE'S BUDGET FOR 1906-7.\*

RECEIPTS.	Million Pounds.	EXPENDITURE.	Million Pounds.
Tobacco .....	13½	Army .....	28
Other Customs .....	7	Navy .....	33½
Excise .....	30½	Education .....	27
Extra License Duties .....	7	Other Civil Vote .....	15½
Estate Duties .....	17½	Customs and Inland Revenue ....	3
Stamps .....	8	National Debt, &c. ....	30
Land Tax House Duty .....	3	Post Office .....	17½
Income Tax .....	47½	Unemployed .....	1
Miscellaneous .....	3	O. A. Pensions over 65 .....	14
Post Office .....	21½	Surplus .....	1
	158½		
Resumption of money previously handed over to local bodies ..	10		
	168½		168½

In the course of the following five years he would take over all the local expenses with regard to the poor, which he would meet by reducing the expenditure on the Army by a further 10 millions. Meanwhile, the natural increase of the yield of the taxes, stimulated by the better spending power of the people, would give, he believes, a substantial margin for the adoption of other reforms.

\* No account was taken of the fact that the full effect of the changes would not be felt all at once; the figures given are for a full year of working under the new conditions. The required adjustments for the first year are merely a selection of dates when the changes take place.

# POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

## THE LABOUR PARTY, FORMERLY THE L.R.C.

*Chairman* : J. J. Stephenson. *Secretary* : J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.  
*Offices* : 28, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

### Organisation.

The Labour Party is a Federation consisting of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies, and Local Labour Associations. A Local Labour Association in any constituency is eligible for affiliation provided that the local Trades Council has been consulted in the first instance. Co-operative Societies are also eligible.

### Object.

To organise and maintain a Parliamentary Labour Party, with its own Whips and Policy; and to secure the election of candidates for whose candidatures an affiliated Society has made itself financially responsible, and who have been selected by a regularly convened conference in the constituency. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decisions of the Group, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour Candidates only.

### Constitution.

The affairs of the Committee are transacted by an Executive Committee of 13 members, of whom nine represent the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, and three the Socialist Societies.

A Parliamentary Fund is raised in order to assist the main objects. This fund is maintained by means of a levy upon the affiliated societies at the rate of 1d. per member per annum. According to the present arrangements the Labour Party pays 25 per cent. of the Returning Officers' expenses of its approved candidates, and £200 per annum towards the maintenance of such candidates elected to Parliament.

The Sixth Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee was held in London on February 15th, 16th, and 17th, 1906, under the presidency of Arthur Henderson, M.P., and there were 333 delegates in attendance. The membership was reported as 921,000; an increase of 21,000 over the previous year. The Parliamentary Fund had received £4,118 in subscriptions, and £3,559 had been paid out. The net balance in hand was £6,641.

The Chairman's address concerned itself with the results of the General Election and the legislative work awaiting the new party.

During the first day it was decided that local L.R.C.'s should be accepted in affiliation where the Trades Council of the same district was not already affiliated. David Cummings delivered fraternal greetings from the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee, and P. Curran from the General Federation of Trade Unions.

On the second day amendments to the Constitution were discussed, but all were withdrawn or defeated. General resolutions as to the North Belfast by-election trouble were withdrawn without discussion. Derby Trades Council moved that:—

"It is desirable that where no L.R.C. candidate is in the field, local bodies should support the one they consider most favourable to the Labour cause."

This was defeated by an overwhelming majority. A lengthy discussion as to the advisability of formulating a programme ended in rejection of the idea. Resolutions were carried in favour of:—

The drafting of a General Trade Union Bill; National measures for dealing with Unemployment; Taxation of Unearned Increment; Secular Education and Free Meals for Children; Minimum wage of 30s. for Government Employees; Compulsory Early Closing and abolition of "Living In" for Shop Assistants; Local Veto on Liquor Traffic, and Prohibition of Publication of Betting News.

A resolution in favour of Women's Enfranchisement was met by an amendment in favour of Adult Suffrage. The amendment was carried by 435,000 to 432,000. The resolution in favour of Secular Education was warmly opposed, but carried by 817,000 to 76,000.

By the adoption of the Executive's Report the suggestion that the L.R.C. should change its name to "The Labour Party" came into effect.

On the Friday (February 16th, 1906) a successful demonstration was held at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place.

## LOCAL L.R.C.'S.

**Accrington** : W. Wareing, 11, Edgar St., Accrington.  
**Armley and Wortley** : F. Lofthouse, 23, Brooklyn Place, Armley, Leeds.  
**Aston Manor** : F. Martin, 145, Victoria Rd., Aston.

**Barnard Castle** : T. W. Dowson, 27, Grey St., Crook, R.S.O., Co. Durham.  
**Barrow-in-Furness** : A. Peters, 80a, Cavendish St., Barrow-in-Furness.  
**Barry** : John A. Kelly, 42, Woodland Rd., Barry, Glam.  
**Benwell** : T. Rowland, 14, Oak St., Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
**Belfast** : J. Murphy, Engineers' Hall, College St., Belfast.  
**Birkenhead** : A. H. Evans, 161, Laird St., Birkenhead.  
**Birmingham and Dist.** : F. Hughes, Coleridge Chmbrs., Corporation St., B'ham.  
 " **East** : H. T. Drinkwater, 23, Arley Rd., Saltby, Birmingham.  
 " **West** : W. J. Taylor, 13, Albert Rd., Handsworth.  
 " **Bordesley** : H. R. Bromige, 206, Ladypool Rd., Sparkbrook, Birmingham.

**Blackburn** : J. Frankland, 56, Dewhurst St., Blackburn.  
**Bolton** : R. Tootill, 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.  
**Bootle** : C. Anders, 96, Ruskin St., Kirkdale, Liverpool.  
**Burnley** : L. Ripon, 21, Morley St., Burnley.

**Chadderton** : R. Wrather, 98, Dalton St., Chadderton, Oldham.  
**Chatham** : W. Ireland, 15, Fair Row, Chatham.  
**Clitheroe** : T. Shaw, Weavers' Office, Colne.  
**Clydebank** : M. Neil, 232, Glasgow Rd., Clydebank, Glasgow

**Colne** : S. Snell, 2, Green St., Colne.

**Colne Valley** : Sam Eastwood, 6, Shawfield, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield

**Coventry** : E. J. Harris, East View, Duke Street, Coventry.

**Darlington** : H. H. Hughes, 87½, Northgate, Darlington.

**Derby** : W. Haywood, 16, Stanton St., Derby.

**Lewsbury, Morley, and Spen Valley** : Ald. Ben Turner, Weavers' Office, Batley.

**Durham, N.W.** : J. E. Swan, Dipton, R.S.O., Co. Durham.

**Earby** : T. Astin, 26, Red Lion St., Earby, Colne.

**Leeds and Patricroft** : H. Derbyshire, 68, Green Lane, Patricroft, Manchester.

**Farnworth** : H. Knowles, 120, Campbell St., Farnworth, nr. Bolton.

**Gillingham** : H. A. Pretty, 10, Virginia Rd., Gillingham, Kent.

**Glasgow (Govan)** : J. D. Fulton, 106, M'Lellan St., Glasgow, S.S.

„ **(Partick)** : S. McArthur, 5, Alexander St., Partick, N.B.

**Gravesend and Northfleet** : W. C. Proctor, 34, London Rd., Northfleet, Kent.

**Great** : J. L. Palmer, 174, Osborne Rd., Sparkhill, Birmingham.

**Grimsby** : H. Empson, 29, Ainslie Rd., Grimsby.

**Halifax** : W. Smith, 57, New Bank, Halifax.

**Handsworth (Staffs)** : G. H. Jarrams, 159, Booth St., Handsworth.

**Holbeck** : W. J. Armstrong, 1, Barkston St., Holbeck, Leeds.

**Hull** : Watson Boyes, Foresters' Hall, Charlotte St., Hull.

**Ilkeston** : J. E. Bestwick, Park Drive, Ilkeston.

**Wigan** : W. Shaw, 22, King St., Wigan.

**Jarrow** : T. Gibb, 196, Albert Rd., Jarrow ; and H. Wilson, 10, Hewitson Terrace, Felling, Jarrow.

**Keighley** : W. Bland, 75, Spencer St., Keighley.

**King's Lynn** : T. A. Frost, London Rd., King's Lynn.

**Leeds and Dist.** : J. D. Macrae, 18, Hillary St., Leeds.

„ **(South)** : A. Mattison, 7, Cambridge Terrace, Chapeltown Rd., Leeds.

„ **(N.W.)** : F. Parsons, 5, Marian Rd., Woodhouse, Leeds.

**Leicester** : G. E. Hubbard, 28, Dover St., Leicester.

**Liverpool** : Geo. Nelson, Hardman Hall, Hardman St., Liverpool.

„ **(Kirkdale)** : W. J. Gerrard, 135, Stanley Rd., Kirkdale.

**London (Deptford)** : R. Legg, 348, New Cross Road, S.E.

„ **(Greenwich)** : A. H. Emery, 1, Claydon Rd., Charlton, S.E.

„ **(Lewisham)** : W. Binge, 76, Ronver Rd., Lee, S.E.

„ **(Poplar)** : J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell Rd., Bromley-by-Bow, E.

„ **(S.W.)** : A. Batstone, 33, Mall Rd., Hammersmith, W.

„ **(S. Hackney)** : W. Parker, 76, Clifden Rd., Clapton Park, N.E.

„ **(West Ham)** : J. Gilbey, 10, Walpole Rd., Upton Park, Essex.

„ **(Wood Green)** : H. Tudor Rhys, "Noddfa," Harcourt Rd., Alexandra Park Road, N.

„ **(Woolwich)** : W. Barefoot, 3, New Road, Woolwich.

**Macclesfield** : J. Downes, Trades Hall, Chatham St., Macclesfield.

**Manchester** : J. Nuttall, J.P., 29, York St., Manchester.

**Merthyr Tydfil** : D. Davies, 5, Pant Cottages, Dowlais, S. Wales.

**Mid. Devon :** W. Vill, 3, Victoria Rd., Newton Abbott.

**Middlesbrough :** Mrs. Coates Hansen, Phillips Avenue, Middlesbrough.

**Motherwell :** G. Ogilvie, Catherine Place, New Orchard Street, Motherwell.

**Nelson :** G. Dewhurst, 110, Railway St., Nelson.

**Newcastle-on-Tyne :** J. W. Thwaites, 58, Brunel Ter., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

**Newport (Mon.) :** E. A. Williams, 22, Usk St., Newport, Mon.

**Newton Heath :** J. Cunliffe, 15, Cross Street, Newton Heath, Manchester.

**Newton-le-Willows :** R. Critchley, 131, Wargrave Rd., Newton-le-Willows.

**Normanton :** A. Smith, 474, Castleford Rd., Normanton.

**Norwich :** Councillor Witard, I.L.P. Rooms, Norwich.

**Oldham :** L. Caffrey, 31, Eden St., Oldham.

**Paisley :** H. Lorimer, 17, Clavering St., Paisley.

**Portsmouth :** J. G. Hogan, 338, Fratton Rd., Portsmouth.

**Preston :** D. Metcalf, 66, Aqueduct St., Preston.

**Reigate :** J. Madden, North Rd., South Park, Reigate.

**Rochdale :** M. Ashworth, 17, Whitworth Rd., Rochdale.

**Rotherham :** W. Tyson, 128, Ferham Rd., Masborough.

**St. Helens :** J. H. Standring, 98, Westfield St., St. Helens.

**Sheffield :** G. H. B. Ward, Park Farm, 390, Cricket Rd., Sheffield.

**South Bank and Eston :** J. Clinton, 11, Upper Milbank St., South Bank.

**Sowerby Bridge :** J. Bates, 11, Dalton St., Sowerby Bridge.

**Stockport :** J. Bennett, 71, Ratcliffe St., Stockport.

**Stockton-on-Tees :** J. A. Brogden, 33, Georgiana St., Thornaby.

**Sunderland :** J. Derbyshire, 11, Pickard St., Millfield, Sunderland.

**Swansea :** H. Davies, 4, London Row, Cwmavon, Port Talbot.

**Urmston :** J. Williamson, 83, Ross Rd., Urmston, Lanes.

**Wallasey :** Jas. Lunnon, 21, Russell Rd., Wallasey.

**Wakefield :** W. Wainwright, King St., Wakefield.

**Warrington :** O. Buckley, 53, Gorsey Lane, Warrington.

**West Bromwich :** H. Thompson, 11, Temple St., West Bromwich.

**Westhoughton :** F. C. Warburton, 177, Victoria Rd., Horwich, Lanes.

**Wigan and Dist. :** Jas. Cavey, 83, Gidlow Lane, Wigan.

**Willesden :** F. Townhill, 19, Essex Rd., Willesden, N.W.

**Worcester (North) and Stirehley :** T. Hackett, Linden Rd., Bournville, B'ham.

**York :** Councillor Fred Morley, 5, Wentworth St., York.

## CHARACTER.

"Is it not the chief disgrace in the world not to be an unit;—not to be reckoned one character;—not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear, but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred, or the thousand, of the party, the section, to which we belong; and our opinion predicted geographically, as the north or the south? Not so brothers and friends—please God, ours shall not be so. We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds."—*Emerson.*

## THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

**Executive Committee :** 1905-6—Percy Alden, Hubert Bland, Cecil E. Chesterton, F. Lawson Dodd, F. W. Galton, Stewart D. Headlam, S. G. Hobson, H. W. Macrosty, Edward R. Pease, W. S. Sanders, G. Bernard Shaw, Charlotte F. Shaw, George Standring, G. R. S. Taylor, Sidney Webb.  
**Sec. :** E. R. Pease; **Offices :** 3, Clement's Inn, W.C.

**Local Societies.**—Cambridge University : J. C. Squire, St. John's College. Glasgow : John McLaren, 96, Cardross Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow. Glasgow University : James Cunnison, 10, Possil Road, Glasgow. Leeds and County : E. Allen, Ivy House, Horsforth, Leeds. Liverpool : Arthur Ellis, 107, Ashbourne Road, Fulwood Park, Liverpool. Manchester : H. P. Douglas, 12, Crofton Street, Rusholme. Oxford University : R. M. Hewitt, Keble College.

A most active and successful year.

**The Elections.**—Fabians elected : Four Labour, three Liberal, and one Liberal-Labour. Unsuccessful : Six Labour, one Ind. Socialist, and two Liberals.

**Work of the Year.**—Meetings held :—19, at 15 of which lectures were given. Through increasing attendances and overcrowding of Clifford's Inn Hall, a move has been made to Essex Hall, Strand. Lectures by Headlam, Chesterton, Shaw, and others, on "Prophets of the Past Century," dealt with Maurice, Kingsley, Shelley, Whitman, Ruskin, and Darwin. H. G. Wells gave two papers. The Hon. G. K. Gokhale, S. K. Ratcliffe (Calcutta "Statesman"), and Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., lectured on India. Series of lectures in London suburbs are being given by Ald. Sanders, and Harry Snell. A greatly increased activity in literary output. The January *National Review* published an "Intercepted Letter," a supposed communication by the Premier to his colleagues on departmental policy. New tracts include "Municipalisation by Provinces," "Abolition of Poor Law Guardians," "Socialism and Labour Policy," "The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage," and a number of old tracts in demand have been reprinted, and in some cases revised. Book boxes continue in greater demand than can be met, despite a further outlay of £82 on these. For the year, 158 societies subscribed for boxes.

In February, H. G. Wells spoke on "Faults of the Fabian," advocating expansion and re-organisation. A Special Committee was appointed with Sydney Olivier as Chairman and Mrs. H. G. Wells as secretary. A "Fabian Nursery" has been formed for members under 28, or of less than six months' membership.

**"Times" Articles.**—During the year a careful and exhaustive inquiry was made into certain causes of the falling birth-rate. A particularly reliable method was adopted, and the results thoroughly tabulated. Sidney Webb embodied these in articles which were published by the *Times* on October 11th and 16th.

An inquiry into the administration of the Poor Law is also now proceeding.

For the year ended March 31st, 1906, the net increase of membership was from 784 to 885. The rate of increase has steadily risen since, and during the 2 months since last report in the Reformers' Year Book, there have been 75 applications for membership, and 39 new associates. There have been 10 resignations, but eight old members re-instated. The income for the year to March 31st, 1906, was £954 (increase of £170), the expenditure £995 (increase of £249), credit balance £14 (decrease of £41). The membership has now (November) for the first time in the history of the society passed the thousand.

## INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

*Chairman:* J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P. *Treasurer:* T. D. Benson. *General Secretary:* Francis Johnson, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C. *National Administrative Council:* J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Philip Snowden, M.P., Isabella O. Ford, J. Bruce Glasier, H. Brockhouse, W. Field, J. Howard, Margaret McMillan, T. Richardson, W. Stewart, T. Russell Williams.

**Object.**—An Industrial Commonwealth founded upon the Socialisation of land and capital. **Methods.**—The education of the community in the principles of Socialism. The industrial and political organisation of the workers. The independent representation of Socialist principles on all elective bodies.

**The Year's Work.**—The past year has been one of unparalleled prosperity and activity, the progress which was noticeable up to the General Election having been more than maintained since. In growth of membership of new branches, in meetings held and output of literature, in elections of members to local governing bodies, in successful use of influence in all directions, all past records of progress have been handsomely broken. The principal event, of course, has been that which resulted in the return of seven out of 10 official Parliamentary candidates, as well as 10 other members of the I.L.P. standing as Trade Union nominees. Nor has the I.L.P. been less pleased at the success of the Labour Party generally.

The selection of J. Keir Hardie as Leader of the Labour Party, a post for which no one else was so obviously well fitted, gave general gratification to Socialists.

The *Labour Leader*, under the editorship of J. Bruce Glasier, has continued to extend its influence, and the circulation, which leapt up during the Elections, has steadily increased ever since. It has been enlarged to 16 pages.

**Literature.**—Four volumes of the Socialist Library have now been issued, many special leaflets, and a large number of pamphlets. The publishing and agency department handed £300 to the General Fund.

**Finance.**—The year was started with a balance in hand of £516, and after 12 months of unprecedented expense in agitation and organisation closed with a surplus of £683. In the Parliamentary Fund we had a balance of £1,201. The receipts to this fund during the year, including the sum raised by the General Election Appeal up to February 28th, amounted to £2,169, making a total of £3,370.

The total amount expended on the ten candidatures of the Party was £4,741. 18s. 3d. To this our Parliamentary Fund assisted to the extent of £1,574. 0s. 3d. Robert Smillie was selected to contest Cocker mouth, owing to the election caused by the death of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and polled 1436 votes in a three-cornered fight. His candidature had the hearty endorsement of the Labour Party.

**Women's Franchise.**—After being dormant for about 20 years the movement for the political enfranchisement of women is again well to the front in politics, thanks mainly to the vigorous agitation inaugurated by women members of the Party in Manchester. It is worth putting on record that the only political, as distinguished from industrial or social, reform which finds a place on the active programme of the Labour Party in Parliament is the

enfranchisement of women. On November 22nd, the Metropolitan District Council of the I.L.P., held a special public meeting in the Horticultural Hall to advocate this reform.

**November Elections.**—The I.L.P. commenced the year 1906-7 with some 500 of its members upon local authorities; as well as 11 elected Borough Auditors. The elections of November, 1906, did not materially alter this number.

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

*Executive:* London—H. M. Hyndman, H. Quelch, J. G. Webster, J. F. Green (*Treasurer*), Fred Knee, J. Hunter Watts; Provincial—E. R. Hartley, Dan Irving, Rose Jarvis, T. Kennedy, T. Lewis, J. Tamlyn. *General Secretary:* H. W. Lee, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.

**The Past Year.**—The year has been one of altogether exceptional activity and development. During the year there have been 46 new or revived branches, comparing with 27, 20, and 18 for the three preceding years. The present number of branches and affiliated societies is just upon 200. During the year, the S.D.F. has taken new offices in Maiden Lane, near Covent Garden and Charing Cross. In the attached hall, known as Chandos Hall, lectures and meetings are held on every Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday, drawing large attendances.

**The Elections.**—Including Thorne for South-west Ham, there were nine candidates in eight constituencies. Their average vote of 3,726 compares with 3,496 in 1900, and 932 in 1895. W. Thorne was the only member elected. The defeat of H. M. Hyndman, coming so near as he did to success, caused deep regret, shared by all Socialists and by many outside sympathisers.

**Other Activities.**—The S.D.F. has taken an active and incessant part in supporting the revolutionary movement in Russia, by raising contributions to the funds, and by every demonstration of sympathy with the Russian struggle. Considerable work has been done in connection with the Unemployed agitations in London and provinces, both independently and in connection with the L.R.C., the Central Workers' Unemployed Committee, and "Right to Work" Committee. The march of the Raunds Army Bootmakers in May last, organised by J. Gribble, was a notable event of the year.

Manifestoes were issued on the War Office Scandals, Unemployed, and General Election; several good new leaflets have been issued; and altogether over 500,000 leaflets and manifestoes have been distributed.

A Co-operative Society, known as the Pioneer Boot Society, has been promoted in connection with the S.D.F., and promises well.

**The Annual Conference.**—The 26th Annual Conference was held at Bradford at Easter, 85 delegates representing 76 branches. The discussion of the question of re-joining the L.R.C. resulted in a resolution, carried by 52 to 18, that whilst cordially sympathising with the Labour Party and its independent action, affiliation was only possible so soon as the Committee accepted a definite Socialist programme.

**Municipal Elections.**—In the 1905 elections, the S.D.F. ran 56 candidates, polled 27,000 votes, and won 10 new seats. At 25 other local elections since then 9,663 votes were polled and nine seats gained. This brought our total of members of local authorities up to over 100, in addition to 10 elected borough auditors. The 1906 elections left matters much as before.



## RADICAL ORGANISATIONS.

### THE COBDEN CLUB.

*Chairman* : Lord Welby. *Treasurer* : Russell Rea, M.P. *Secretary* : J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P. *Offices* : Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

THE Cobden Club was founded in 1866 by T. B. Potter to promote Free Trade, Peace and Goodwill among Nations. Its main object is to promote those economic and political principles with which Cobden's name is associated.

### LEAGUE OF YOUNG LIBERALS.

*President* : Lewis Harcourt, M.P. *Chairman* : C. F. G. Masterman, M.P. *Hon. Treas.* : F. W. Loxton. *Hon. Sec.* : J. Aubrey Rees. *Head-quarters* : New Reform Club, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

### METROPOLITAN RADICAL FEDERATION.

*Chairman* : James Jeffrey, L.C.C. *Vice-Chairman* : W. J. Ramsey. *Hon. Sec.* : E. Garrity, Accrington House, 4, Hall Street, City Rd., E.C.

**Object.**—The federation for common political ends of all bona-fide Radical organisations of the Metropolis.

### NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE.

*President* : C. J. O'Donnell, M.P. *Chairman* : John Ward, M.P. *Hon. Sec.* : J. E. Dobson. *Hon. Org. Sec.* : H. Sheridan-Bickers. *Head Office* : 57 and 58, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

**Objects.**—The motto of the League is "Government of the People, by the People, for the People," and its objects are: (1) Adult Suffrage; (2) Automatic Registration with a three months' qualification; (3) One Voter One Vote; (4) Official Expenses of Elections to be defrayed from State Funds; (5) Second Ballot; (6) Payment of Members; (7) Extinction of the Hereditary Principle in the Legislature.

### NATIONAL REFORM UNION.

*President* : Lord Wearedale (Philip Stanhope). *Sec.* : Arthur G. Symonds. *The Offices are at* 50, HAWORTH'S BUILDINGS, CROSS STREET, MANCHESTER. *London Office* : 8, Victoria St., S.W.

FOUNDED in 1863 by members of the Anti-Corn Law League. **Object** : The support of Liberalism, which it carries out by issuing pamphlets, books, and other literature. During the past year its chief work was in connection with the General Election; over 3,000,000 leaflets and pamphlets being issued.

### NEW REFORM CLUB POLITICAL COMMITTEE.

*Chairman* : J. A. Hobson. *Hon. Treas.* : F. W. Pethick Lawrence. *Secretary* : Holford Knight, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

CARRIES on active propaganda by meetings, lectures, and literature. It has been especially active in opposition to the introduction of Chinese Labour, the Zulu war in Natal, and Jingoism. Supports Secular Education and Women's Suffrage.

**YOUNG BRITISH LIBERALS' FEDERATION.**

*President* : Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M.P. *Chairman* : A. A. Edwards.  
*Hon. Sec.* : Ernest P. Ray. *Central Office* : 326, Newtown Row, Birmingham.

**Object.**—The Charter of the Federation declares that its chief object is to interest young men in the good government of their city and of their country. There are now 26 societies federated.

**YOUNG SCOTS' SOCIETY.**

*Hon. President* : Arthur Dewar, K.C., M.P. *President* : Counc. John W. Gulland, M.P. *Hon. Sec. and Treas.* : Jas. Matson, 1, Bruntsfield Terrace, Edinburgh.

**Object.**—Started in November, 1900, at Edinburgh, with the object of increasing interest in Liberal and Progressive politics in Scotland ; to encourage the study of history, social and industrial science and economics.

**OFFICIAL LIBERAL ORGANISATIONS.****Liberal Central Association.**

*Chairman of Committee* : RT. HON. HERBERT J. GLADSTONE, M.P. ; *Hon. Secretary* : ROBERT A. HUDSON ; *Offices* : 41, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**Liberal Publication Department.**

*Chairman* : R. C. LEHMANN, M.P. ; *Hon. Secretary* : CHARLES GEAKE, 42, Parliament Street, S.W.

**National Liberal Federation.**

*President* : RT. HON. A. H. D. ACLAND ; *Treasurer* : ROBERT BIRD ; *Secretary* : SIR R. A. HUDSON ; *Offices* : 42, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**London Liberal Federation.**

*President* : SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, G.C.B., M.P. ; *Treasurer* : SIR SAMUEL MONTAGU, BART. ; *Chairman* : W. H. DICKINSON, L.C.C. ; *Secretary* : H. W. CARR-GOMM, M.P. ; *Offices* : 41, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**Scottish Liberal Association.**

*President* : RT. HON. SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN ; *Chairman of Council* : GEO. GREEN, J.P., C.C. *Hon. Treas.* : THE MASTER OF ELIBANK, M.P.

**EASTERN SECTION.**—*Secretary* : A. D. WOOD ; *Offices* : 95, PRINCES STREET, EDINBURGH. **WESTERN SECTION.**—*Secretary* : WM. WEBSTER ; *Offices* : 7, WEST GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW.

**Welsh National Liberal Council.**

*President* : D. LLOYD-GEORGE, M.P. ; *Treasurer* : C. E. BRESE ; *Chairman of Executive* : ALD. E. THOMAS, J.P. ; *Secretary* : WALTER H. HUGHES ; *Offices* : LLWYN-ON, PONTYPOOL.

**Women's Liberal Federation.**

*President* : THE COUNTESS OF CARLISLE ; *Hon. Secretaries* : MRS. BROADLEY REID and LADY BAMFORD-SLACK. *Secretary* : MISS MARGARET BUNNETT ; *Offices* : 124, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**Women's National Liberal Association.**

*Chairman of Executive* : MRS. BYLES ; *Treasurer* : MISS MONCK ; *Secretary* : MISS E. E. PAGE. *Offices* : 138, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**Scottish Women's Liberal Federation.**

*President* : LADY MARJORIE SINCLAIR. *Hon. Secretaries* : MISS M. CUNNINGHAM (Eastern) and MRS. SWAN (Western) ; *Hon. Treasurer* : MRS. GILBERT BEITH ; *Secretary* : MISS ALICE YOUNGER ; *Offices* : 7, WEST GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW.

**Eighty Club.**

*President* : RT. HON. SIR EDWARD GREY, M.P. ; *Treasurer* : J. C. SWINBURNE-HANHAM ; *Secretary* : R. C. HAWKIN ; *Offices* : 3, HARE COURT, TEMPLE, LONDON, E.C.

**National Liberal Club.**

*President* : EARL CARRINGTON, G.C.M.G. ; *Chairman of Political Committee* : MAJOR A. W. BIGGS. *Secretary* : DONALD MURRAY ; *Address* : WHITE-HALL PLACE, S.W.

**Liberal Social Council.**

*President* : THE COUNTESS OF CREWE ; *Hon. Secretaries* : MRS. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL and MRS. SYDNEY BUXTON ; *Secretary* : MISS M. M. WILLS ; *Office* : 92, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

**OFFICIAL UNIONIST ORGANISATIONS.****Association of Conservative Clubs.**

ST. STEPHEN'S CHAMBERS, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**Central Conservative Offices.**

*Principal Agent* : LIEUT.-COL. C. A. B. HAIG ; *Secretary* : C. J. HENNINGS ; *Offices* : ST. STEPHEN'S CHAMBERS, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**National Conservative League.**

*Grand Secretary* : F. H. RELTON ; *Offices* : 9, BROUGHTON ROAD, THORNTON HEATH, SURREY.

**National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations.**

*Secretary* : A. E. SOUTHALI ; *Offices* : ST. STEPHEN'S CHAMBERS, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**National Union of Conservative Associations of Scotland.**

*Secretary* : GEORGE BROWN, 119A, GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

**Primrose League.**

*Clerk* : REGINALD BENNETT ; *Offices* : 64, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

**Liberal Unionist Association.**

*Offices* : 6, ST. GEORGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

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# LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

By S. D. SHALLARD.

To the present generation our system of Local Government seems complicated enough, but it must be remembered that prior to the Local Government Act of 1888 there were few counties with any defined system of local administration for the purposes of public health. The Act of 1888 remedied this great evil, and the Act of 1894 by creating the district and Parish Councils completed the machinery of county administration.

Certain county powers were also conferred on a number of towns. All boroughs in England and Wales with over 50,000 inhabitants, and those with over 20,000 which already had county powers, were made County Boroughs, with their own Petty Sessions and Commissions of Peace. The transfer of educational powers has since further simplified local administration; whilst the steady acquirement of water, gas, and tramway undertakings in all parts of the kingdom continues to reduce the conflict of authorities.

The following table shows the local authorities by which the kingdom is governed :—

**Our Local Authorities.**

	Counties.	Metro- politan Burghs.	County Burghs.	Other Cities and Towns.	Urban District Councils.	Rural District Councils.	Poor Law Guardians.	Total
E. & Wales..	62	28	71	253	813	668	654	2,549
Scotland ...	33	—	—	203	—	99	874	1,209
Ireland .....	33	—	—	11	81	214	159	498
Total ...	128	28	71	467	894	981	1,687	4,256

The above does not include the English Parish Councils, which number some 7,000. The 874 "Parish Councils" of Scotland being the Poor Law Guardians, are included under that heading. London is included with the other Counties. The Joint Boards for Water, Gas, Asylums, River Dock, and other purposes, are not included, as they are largely made up of representatives from other existing authorities.

## Cost of Local Government.

The following is a statement of the revenues of Local Authorities in England and Wales, and Scotland. The finance of Ireland, which stands upon an exceptional footing, will almost certainly undergo revision in 1907.

The expenditure for 1903-4, the last complete year available, was £151,886,000 received from the following sources :—

From Local Public Rates ... ..	£38,256,864
„ Government Contributions ... ..	17,888,252
„ Loans Raised (including Loans of L.C.C. to other Local Authorities) ... ..	35,557,112
„ Gas, Water, Electricity, and Trams, net receipts* (including rents for leased lines) ... ..	22,637,298
„ Rents and Interests on other Properties ...	3,577,021
„ Fees, Fines, Penalties, Tolls, &c. ... ..	6,567,244
„ Repayments recovered for Improvements ...	1,997,327
„ Miscellaneous receipts ... ..	5,404,890
	<hr/> £151,886,008

\*After deducting working expenses from gross receipts.

As the loans are repayable, they may be deducted from the total expenditure, and the balance gives approximate current expenditure as £116,328,896, which dealt with in the following table :—

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Expenditure.</i>	
	£		£
From Rates and Government Contributions	76,145,116	On Poor Law ... ..	17,583,404
„ Rents, Profits, Interest, Fees, &c....	38,186,453	„ Education ... ..	17,128,239
„ Cost of Improvements recovered ...	1,997,327	All other services ... ..	81,617,253
	<hr/> £116,328,896		<hr/> £116,328,896

### Our "Extravagant" Councils.

New terms are needed in speaking of Municipal accounts ; the term "debt," for instance, being quite misleading. The capital of a tramway company is ten more a local debt than the "debt" of a Tramway Committee, since the company's revenues provide nothing for extinction of capital, on which the travelling public have, therefore, to pay perpetual interest. Not only are current terms misleading, but, unfortunately, Municipal accounts are issued in the form least calculated to educate the public as to what it receives in return for the rates it pays.

A house rented at £46 to £50, if assessed at £40 and rated at 7s. 6d. would pay £15 a year in rates—an amount no larger than the occupier would spend on his tobacconist's, if he only smoked three or four cigars a day. Yet for the amount of a cigar bill he has his roads and streets laid, swept, and lighted ; main and local drainage ; dust collection, and suchlike services ; police protection, and a fire brigade ; staffs of building inspectors, food and milk inspectors, &c., constantly working in his interests ; parks, open spaces, and open-air bands, libraries, picture galleries, and art collections, and innumerable services which he never notices, but the absence of which would cause him the greatest inconvenience and expense. Even these things only account for £12 out of his £15, the remainder going to education and poor law expenses. In towns such as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, or Bolton, where Municipal trading has been considerably developed, he will receive even more services and benefits at no greater cost.

### Municipal Trading.

A common form of argument against Municipal Trading is to give the figures for the increase of Municipal indebtedness, set against them the increase of rates, and assume one as a necessary result of the other. Let us examine such an argument. The increase in the Municipal "debt" of England and Wales, 1894-1904, was from £224,000,000 to £393,000,000. The increase of rates was from £32,220,000 to £52,940,000. What caused the increase in the rates ?

Between 1894 and 1904 the cost of elementary education alone in England and Wales nearly doubled, the increase being from £7,783,000 to £14,150,100. In the same period the cost of police, sanitation, cemeteries, asylums, coast works, bridges, and roads increased from £50,000,000 to £95,000,000. These amounts, and the increased expenditure on the poor law, accounted for the whole of the increase in the rates and government contributions, and swallowed up all profits, rents, &c., from undertakings and property.

On the other hand, the increase in "debt" was largely an increase in the capital of remunerative undertakings. The relation of a municipality's debt to its rates entirely depends on whether the debt is or is not for trading purposes. A higher trading debt usually means lower rates, and vice versa. Mr. Robert Donald ably showed this in 1903, by using the analytical tables published by the *Stock Exchange Official Intelligence*. Excluding the towns in which the trading and non-trading debt are nearly balanced, he divided the other 73 principal towns into those with a lesser or greater proportion of trading debt, and made a further selection of those with two-thirds (or more) of their debt in trading concerns, and those with only a third (or less) so invested. The results of his examination are here condensed :—

	With greater proportion of trading debt.	With lesser proportion of trading debt.	Trading debt $\frac{2}{3}$ or more of total.	Trading debt $\frac{1}{3}$ or less of total.
No. of Towns... ..	42	31	13	13
Average Debt per head ...	£15·6	£6·8	£20·5	£5·5
Average Borough Rates in the £ ... ..	4s. 7d.	4s. 7½d.	4s. 5½d.	4s. 8½d.

These figures sufficiently demonstrate that a high trading debt does not necessarily mean high rates. Their full significance becomes the more apparent when it is remembered that the towns with the lesser trading trade but higher rates includes such places as Oxford, Cambridge, Reading, and Richmond; whereas the contrasted list includes Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham and other great industrial centres which have to incur immense expenditure on police, sanitation, poor law, &c. Nor does the gain to the citizens consist only in contributions to their rates, but in the improved services and lower charges which they enjoy. It is easy to tell the citizen of a company-ridden town that he would not benefit by municipal trading; but it is useless to tell a citizen (say) of Manchester, Glasgow, or Birmingham that he does not so benefit, because he has personal experience to the contrary.

A valuable Table dealing with Municipal Trading, and showing the considerable reduction in the rates effected thereby in a number of towns, will be found on page 16.

## LONDON.

The administrative County of London measures 16 miles in its extreme length from east to west, and 12 miles in its extreme breadth from north to south, and including the City, covers 74,893 acres or 116 square miles. The population in 1901 was 4,536,541. It is now estimated at over 5,000,000.

The county is governed by the County Council, the Common Council of the City, and 28 Metropolitan Boroughs. The police are administered by a Home Office Commissioner; the water by the Metropolitan Water Board, comprising representatives of County, Borough, and District Councils; and the Poor Law by 31 Boards of Guardians. The Metropolitan Asylums Board is appointed in part by the Local Government Board and in part by the Boards of Guardians. The Thames and Lee are in the hands of Conservancies on which the County and Local Authorities are represented. The City area, in

addition to the Common Council, has 112 vestries and 114 Boards of Overseers. The County is also districted among 10 gas companies whose prices range from 2s. to 3s. 8d. per 1,000 feet.

### Cost of London Government.

London costs some £20,000,000 to administer. The latest available complete figures (December, 1906) are for the year 1903-4.

### Expenditure of Metropolitan Local Authorities, 1903-4.

L.C.C. £000	School Board. £000	City Corptn. £000	Borough Counc's. £000	Poor Law. £000	Police. £000	Asyl'ms Board. £000	Markets £000	Total. £000
4,542	3,372	1,314	4,708	3,627	1,818	1,026	6	20,413

### The County Council.

The 29 municipal areas correspond to 58 County Divisions, the City sending four and the others two members each to the Council. The 118 elected councillors select 19 aldermen, who sit for six years, one-half retiring at each election. Every year the Council elects a chairman, vice-chairman, and deputy chairman.

The Council has all the powers of a county, some of the powers of a County borough, and certain executive powers especially applicable to London. It has 14 representatives on the Metropolitan Water Board, six on the Thames Conservancy, and two on the Lee Conservancy; also two on the Senate of the London University, and one representative on all the important London charities. The Joint Standing Committee of Quarter Sessions consists of nine Justices and nine members of the Council.

The Council's work is carried on by 21 executive committees and five special committees.

### Problems for the New Council.

The Council elected in 1907 will have to face some important problems.

A proposal made in October, 1906, to increase the membership to 200 on account of the great increase of duties, will, if decided upon, have to be brought in practical shape before Parliament. Bound up with this question is the future administration of education. The leading members of the Council on both sides strongly favour the present system of Council control through an Education Committee, but a large proportion, if not the majority, of London Progressives would return to an *ad hoc* authority similar to the late School Board. This acute division of opinion will give rise to a struggle in the Council Chamber.

The future of the electrical supply of London will have to be faced. A Parliamentary Committee of 1906, reporting upon the Bills of the Council and two great companies, strongly recommended that the Council should be constituted the authority for the bulk supply. Desperate efforts will be made in March by the electrical companies to secure the defeat of the Progressives, and even if this fails the struggle will be renewed on the Council.



## A COMMUNE FOR LONDON.

(From the Manifesto by the Metropolitan District Council of the I.L.F.).

THE seventh London County Council Election, which takes place in March, 1907, should mark a new stage in the communal development of the Metropolis. Valuable as the work of the Council has been during the last two decades, a large number of most important municipal questions are still unsolved. To deal with them the Council will, of course, require new powers. There will also be required on the Council more men who hold that the community should consciously order its collective life. That is to say, the Socialist and Labour Party must endeavour to obtain sufficient representation to successfully resist the powerful efforts which are being made to prevent any further growth of municipal organisation and enterprise; and to demand from Parliament the legislation necessary to enable the Council to become the one central local governing body for London, properly equipped to promote and defend the communal interests of the whole of the Metropolis and the townships on its borders.

### County Council as Central Authority for all London.

The most immediately important question in relation to the local government of London is that of unification of administration. At present municipal affairs are administered by four central authorities: *i.e.*, the London County Council, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the Metropolitan Water Board, and the Thames Conservancy; and by the City Corporation and 28 Borough Councils. This division of authority leads to overlapping, duplication, needless expense, friction, and wasteful inefficiency. The County Council should be made the one central authority for London. It should absorb the functions of the three other central authorities, and those of the Borough Councils which have been found by experience to rightly belong to a central rather than a local body.

The necessity of unification of powers on these lines is evident when the cognate question of the equalisation of rates is considered. The rates of London vary from 5s. 11d. in the rich area of Westminster to 12s. in poverty-ridden Poplar. The need for equalising the Metropolitan municipal charges is obvious.

To secure a uniform and just method of assessments the County Council should be the valuation authority for London, with power to rate land values and unoccupied property. The policy in connection with local taxation should be to secure for the community the unearned increment which now goes chiefly to the ground landlords and property owners.

The area of London is a matter requiring serious attention. Many of the suburbs, such as West Ham, East Ham, Tottenham, Wimbledon, Walthamstow, and Willesden, are, from the point of view of local government administration, parts of the Metropolis. The poorer of these suburbs are willing to be included in the London County Council area.

### Docks, Electricity, Traffic, Milk, Coal, Markets, &c.

In the interests of public commerce the Council should be made the Port and Dock authority for London, owning and managing the docks now in the possession of private companies. It should be given the duty of supplying electricity in bulk not only for London, but also for a large area outside the existing Metropolitan boundaries, taking over at a fair valuation, the existing local systems.

The Council should be made the traffic authority for London, and its power to own means of transit should be extended from trams to tubes and local railways, and to motor-buses of a sanitary and silent type. It should be empowered to carry goods as well as passengers. The recent raising of fares on the District Railway, regardless of Parliamentary pledges, emphasises the need of public ownership of the means of communication.

The vitally important milk supply should no longer be left to haphazard and insanitary private enterprise, but should be organised by the community. The County Council should be given power to own farms and to supply milk in bulk to Borough Councils for infant milk depots, and for the retailing of individual customers. The London coal supply, now practically a private monopoly, ought to be brought under the control of the County Council. Powers should be obtained to enable the Council to purchase or obtain from its own mines, in addition to the enormous amount consumed in its own institutions, sufficient coal to retail to the public at cost price. In conjunction with the Borough Councils, the County Council should be given power to organise a system of central and local markets and public slaughter-houses as in other great capitals.

The Metropolitan and City police should be controlled by the County Council. The duty of keeping order is a civic one, and should be in the hands of the direct representatives of the citizens.

With regard to the housing of the people, the extravagant method of pulling down slums at the expense of the community must be finally abandoned, and the cost of such work thrown upon the owners of the insanitary property. The County Council should seek power to buy and control the areas contiguous to London, so that the housing needs of the community could be promptly and properly met, and to insure the preservation of sufficient open space in proportion to houses built. Further, the Council should build on these areas garden suburbs in which all classes could be provided with suitable accommodation.

The system of direct employment by the County Council should be extended and improved by the institution of a 48-hour working week, and a minimum weekly wage of 30 shillings.

### **Education ; A Larger Council and Women Workers.**

As the education authority for London the County Council should undertake the physical as well as the mental training of the children under its cares. To do this thoroughly it must be given or acquire the power to supply meals to children, and provide medical care, and the teaching of the laws of health. Provision should be made to enable every child who would profit by technical, secondary, and university training to receive these free. Steps must be taken to break down the artificial division between elementary and other forms of education. More technical and craft schools must be provided for girls and women as for boys and men. Systematic instruction in the rights and duties of citizenship should be an essential part of the curriculum of elementary and secondary schools.

In order to cope with the great increase of work which unification and added powers and extension of area would involve, it is necessary that the number of members of the County Council should be increased to at least two hundred. The help of women is essential for the successful administration of education and other branches of the Council's work. Hence women should be eligible to stand as candidates for the office of County Councillor.

London should be the best-governed city in the world, because its great wealth, enormous population, and large area provide unique opportunities for economic organisation. Owing to the lack of unified administrative machinery, London is unable to offer its citizens the advantages which many far smaller cities possess. With one central authority equipped with the power to undertake whatever enterprise its citizens may desire, London, instead of being as in the past the happy hunting ground of the private monopolist, may in the future become a fully-developed commune, ordering its civic household in the interests of the whole of its inhabitants.

# LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

## Results of Elections, 1889-1904.

In March, 1904, the sixth election of members of the London County Council resulted in 83 seats out of 118 falling to the Progressive candidates. The aggregate vote cast for the Progressives was 325,023, and that for the Moderates was 256,152, or 68,800 less. The results of the six past elections have been as follows:—

	Councillors.			Aldermen.			Prog. Majority.
	Prog.	Mod.	Ind.	Prog.	Mod.	Ind.	
1889	73	45	—	18	1	—	45
1892	83	34	1	17	1	1	65
1896	58	59	1	12	5	2	6
1898	69	46	1	12	7	—	25
1901	84	31	3	14	5	—	62
1904	83	34	1	14	5	—	58

## LIST OF ALDERMEN AND COUNCILLORS.

### ALDERMEN 19

(P.) Progressive. (M.) Moderate. (L.) Labour. (I.) Independent.  
Figures in brackets indicate date of election.

Anstruther, H. T. (M.)	Sandhurst, Lord (P.) (1902)
Bell, Sir Wm. J. (M.) (1902)	Scott-Liddett, Rev. J. (P.)
Bowerman, C. W. (P. and L.) (1901)	Spicer, Evan (P.) (1901)
Buxton, A. F. (M.) (1904)	Strong, Richard (P.) (1904)
Dickinson, W. H. (P.) (1904)	Thompson, W. W. (M.) (1904)
Forman, E. B. (M.) (1901)	Welby, Lord (P.) (1901)
Mitchell, Isaac (P. and L.) (1904)	West, Sir Alg. (P.) (1898)
Mowatt, Sir Francis (P.) (1904)	White, Edward (M.) (1904)
Mullins, W. E. (P.) (1904)	Yates, W. B. (P.) (1901)
Sanders, W. S. (P. and L.) (1904)	

### COUNCILLORS (118.)

Constituency.	No. of Electors.	Majorities of Sitting Members.	Sitting Members.
Battersea .. .. .	17,128	3,010 P & L 2,099 P	J. Burns, M.P. W. Davies
Bermondsey .. .. .	12,542	Unop. P 1,062 P	A. Salter A. Allen, M.P.
Bethnal Green, N.E. .. .	9,263	2,054 P 2,040 P	E. Smith Sir E. Cornwall, M.P.
„ S.W. .. .. .	9,226	1,535 P 1,503 P	J. Branch, M.P. T. Wiles, M.P.
Bow and Bromley .. .. .	12,930	1,820 P 1,788 P	W. W. Bruce B. Cooper
Brixton .. .. .	12,666	248 P 98 P	L. Sharp F. Dolman
Camberwell, N. .. .. .	14,994	2,441 P & L 2,324 P	H. R. Taylor R. Bray
Chelsea .. .. .	15,451	753 P 672 P	J. Jeffery E. J. Horniman, M.P.
City of London .. .. .	26,839	2,565 M 2,516 M	Ald. Alliston Sir T. B. Hitching
Clapham .. .. .	22,201	2,457 M 2,284 M	Hon. R. Guinness H. S. Sankey
Deptford .. .. .	17,392	356 M 220 M	Lt. Col. Rotton T. P. Gaskell
Dulwich .. .. .	13,178	Unop. L Unop. L	Sidney Webb R. C. Phillimore
		790 P 727 P	G. A. Hardy, M.P. T. Gautrey

Constituency.	No. of Electors.	Majorities of Sitting Members.	Sitting Members.
ary, C. . . . .	10,036	426 P 403 P	Hon. F. Hemphill A. B. Russell
E. . . . .	6,876	564 P 418 P	J. A. Baker, M.P. T. E. Harvey
m. . . . .	23,257	922 P 425 M*	T. Davies C. Cobb
wich . . . . .	14,615	Unop. P Unop. P	R. S. Jackson, M.P. F. W. Warmington
ney, C. . . . .	10,542	1,414 P 1,356 P	T. McK. Wood, M.P. A. J. Shephard
N. . . . .	14,125	399 P 216 P	G. Lampard J. E. Sears, M.P.
S. . . . .	15,126	1,542 P 1,540 P	E. Browne A. Smith
erston. . . . .	7,858	1,386 P 1,343 P	Lord Monkswell J. Stuart, M.P.
ersmith . . . . .	17,016	18 M 11 M	J. Brandon E. Collins
stead . . . . .	14,088	359 M 320 M	N. Hanhart J. T. Taylor
rn . . . . .	12,212	1,429 M 1,408 M	Sir H. Bliss Capt. G. C. Swinton
n. . . . .	9,466	155 P 80 P	Graham Wallas H. Ward
ton, E. . . . .	13,112	1,997 P 1,498 P	A. M. Torrance, M.P. A. A. Thomas
N. . . . .	14,472	1,066 P 1,047 P	T. B. Napier, M.P. W. C. Parkinson
S. . . . .	10,058	766 P 667 P & L	H. J. Williams G. Dew
W. . . . .	10,698	1,199 P 1,169 P	W. Goodman G. H. Radford, M.P.
ngton . . . . .	12,075	834 P 928 P	S. Collins, M.P. J. W. Benn, M.P.
ngton, N. . . . .	12,974	318 P 289 P	W. Pope H. L. Jephson
, S. . . . .	13,923	Unop. M 2,855 M	Lt.-Col. Colvill R. A. Robinson
sth, N. . . . .	8,263	611 P† 124 M†	Frank Briant J. Williams
nam . . . . .	24,055	1,740 P 1,389 P	J. W. Cleland, M.P. Hon. A. L. Stanley, M.P.
ouse . . . . .	7,640	944 P 864 P	Seat now vacant A. L. Leon
ebone, E. . . . .	8,743	1,308 M 1,096 M	Earl of Essex Lord Ludlow
, W. . . . .	11,578	258 P 87 M	J. Lewis W. Bailey
nd . . . . .	6,400	566 P 562 P	G. J. Warren B. S. Strauss
gton, W. . . . .	10,478	1,884 P 1,857 P	J. Pigott D. Gilbert
od . . . . .	15,257	406 P 311 P	N. W. Hubbard G. Shrubbsall
agton, N. . . . .	11,478	953 M 727 M	R. M. Beachcroft J. Stephens
, S. . . . .	8,798	1,638 M 1,619 M	H. A. Harben H. P. Harris
am . . . . .	14,373	2,176 P 2,112 P	C. G. Clarke, M.P. F. W. Verney, M.P.
. . . . .	11,058	1,674 P & L 1,278 P	W. Crooks, M.P. Sir J. McDougall, M.P.

28th Oct., 1905.—Cobb (M), 4,395; Spender (P), 3,970; Clarke (Lab.), 1,177—M. gain.  
ams elected in 1904, when 7 cand. (incl. 2 I. and 1 L.)—Briant elected at Bye, 1905.

Constituency.	No. of Electors.	Majorities of Sitting Members.	Sitting Members.
Rotherhithe . . . . .	10,330	1,578 P 1,499 P	A. Pomeroy H. J. Glanville
St. George's-in-the-East . .	3,961	255 P & L 168 P	H. Gosling J. Smith
St. George's, Hanover Sq. . .	12,729	1,233 M 1,302 M	H. J. Greenwood Hon. F. D. Leigh
St. Pancras, E. . . . .	8,713	20 P 178 M	T. H. W. Idris, M.P. E. Barnes
„ N. . . . .	8,993	1,308 P 1,286 P	Dr. Beaton D. S. Waterlow, M.P.
„ S. . . . .	6,904	467 M 348 M	Major H. Gastrell F. Goldsmith
„ W. . . . .	8,650	1,537 P 1,417 P	Sir W. J. Collins, M.P. Lord Carrington
Southwark, W. . . . .	9,077	735 P 738 P	T. Hunter E. Bayley
Stepney . . . . .	6,081	62 P & L 402 M§	W. C. Steadman, M.P. A. G. Goodrich
Strand . . . . .	10,639	1,183 M 1,092 M	Lt.-Col. Probyn Lord Elcho
Walworth . . . . .	8,634	439 P 391 P	J. A. Dawes C. Jesson
Wandsworth . . . . .	34,453	1,744 M 1,560 M	W. J. Lancaster W. Hunt
Westminster . . . . .	9,460	814 M 763 M	R. W. Granville-Smith C. Y. Sturge
Whitechapel . . . . .	5,474	453 I 416 P	H. H. Gordon W. C. Johnson
Woolwich . . . . .	19,514	2,545 P & L 2,432 P & L	L. J. Jones F. Chambers

§Bye: March, 1906.

## THE COUNCIL'S RECORD.

It would be impossible here to deal fully with the manifold and far-reaching activities of the Council, for London is more than a City; it is a State, with State needs and problems. It has a population as great as that of Belgium, exceeding that of Holland by over a million persons, nearly three times as great as that of Denmark; yet packed into less than one-hundredth the area of the smallest of those states. There is hardly a point at which the Council does not touch its life.

### Trams.

In 1889 the people of London did not own a mile of tramway. Out of a total length of 121 miles London now owns 103 miles, all being worked by the Council. More than one-half of this is already electrified. A capital sum of nearly £5,000,000 has been invested in these undertakings, of which over £800,000 has already been paid off out of revenue. The charge last year for interest and sinking fund on the outstanding loans was £166,000. Since 1894, after clearing all expenses, debt charges, depreciation, and sinking fund, the Council's trams have made a net profit of £326,581, of which £293,592 has gone to relief of rates. The Council tramways also contributed £58,000 to borough rates in 1906. The boroughs further benefit by the amount expended by the Council on its 16ft. width of each tram route. To date the

capital amount so expended is over £700,000, and nearly £50,000 is annually expended on maintenance. Finally, fares have been reduced by nearly one-half, the employés have better pay and very much shorter hours, and the service is incalculably improved.

The chief tramway events of 1906 were the opening of the shallow tramway from Aldwych to Theobalds Road, with electrified through route to Highbury *via* the Angel; the taking over of the Northern Tramway system; the successful passage of the Embankment and over-bridge scheme through the House of Lords, and the adoption by the Council of a scheme for linking up all the northern routes at Southampton Row by new lines *via* Euston Road, Tottenham Court Road, and Bloomsbury.

### **Housing.**

Altogether a debt of close upon £1,000,000 has been incurred for the clearance of insanitary property under Pts. I. and II. of the Housing Act, and some £800,000 for accommodation upon the cleared sites. Under Pt. III. the Council is undertaking accommodation for over 70,000 persons, the greater part of this in cottage dwellings on the outskirts of or beyond the county. Accommodation for some 10,000 persons has already been provided. The Council itself has three lodging houses accommodating 1,840 persons, and in 1905 made 32,000 inspections of common lodging-houses.

### **Parks and Gardens.**

Since 1889 the Council has incurred a capital expenditure of £1,100,000 on parks and open spaces. These now cover 5,000 acres and cost £110,000 annually for maintenance. There are botanic gardens at Battersea and Victoria Parks and Horniman Gardens. There are four boating lakes, which yield £1,540 in relief of rates; also six bathing ponds, 437 cricket pitches, 198 football grounds, four men's gymnasia, and 23 for children; also grounds for croquet, golf, tennis, hockey, bowls, quoits, and other games. There are 30 covered bandstands and some 1,300 performances were given last year at a net cost of about £10,000.

### **Elementary Education.**

There are 521 elementary schools under the Council's control, with 555,000 children on the books, and an average attendance of 495,000. There are eight metal-work centres and 192 wood-work centres. The special provision for girls' domestic training includes 145 laundry centres, 185 cookery centres, and 36 housewifery centres attended by over 90,000 scholars.

A number of centres are provided for blind or deaf children, and others for the mentally or physically defective. The annual cost of the day schools is £2,270,000, and of the other schools £260,000. The Council also has a number of industrial schools, truant schools, &c., and a training ship.

The playgrounds of 300 schools are now open on Saturdays for recreation, and 47 are open on Sundays and during vacation.

### **Underfed Children.**

In the matter of dealing with underfed children the Council acts through the Special Joint Committee. In 1904-5 a weekly average of 26,950 children in its elementary schools received a weekly average of 66,000 meals. In the non-provided schools, 2,940 children received 8,370 meals.

### Technical Schools.

There are 12 science, art, and technical schools maintained by the Council, and it is concerned in the maintenance of a large number of other higher grade and secondary schools, and gives some 1,500 scholarships annually.

The total expenditure in 1905 on all education, inclusive of debt charges, was £3,967,000. Of this £1,455,000 was received from Imperial taxation and other aids; £2,511,000 was raised by a general County rate of 1s. 4d. in the £.

### Protection of Consumer.

An important part of the Council's duty is the inspection of food stuffs, notably milk and meat; the testing of weights and measures, and the protection of certain classes of workers.

As most of London's milk comes from outside the County, the inspection can never be satisfactory until the producer is compelled to furnish guarantees to the retailer.

Of 1,868,000 new weights and measures tested, 369,000 were rejected. Of 1,412,000 inspections of those in use, 32,000 were found to be unjust. Such inspection means an immense saving to the pockets of consumers, an especial boon to the poorest class, which buys in small quantities.

### Shop Assistants.

In connection with the Shop Hours Act, 123,000 inspections were made and 6,700 irregularities discovered; also 14,000 shops were inspected as to provision of seats for assistants.

### Some Other Points.

During 1905 the Works Committee executed work to the amount of £233,655, which was £18,631 below the final estimate.

The Fire Brigade has now 80 stations, 320 horses, 1,100 alarms, 88,000 fixed hydrants, and a staff of 1,304 employés. During the year it attended 3,616 fires.

The Council has at present the care of over 18,000 insane persons.

Although unable to pass its Bill for applying the Allotments Acts to London, there are 800 persons cultivating Council allotments and small holdings.

### Finance.

The total expenditure of the London County Council for 1904-5 was £8,802,483 of which £5,422,790 was raised by County rates of 32·08d. in the £. The rates for 1905-6 were 35d., being 18d. for education purposes and 17d. for other purposes; but no further particulars are yet available.

The following is a summary of the receipts and expenditure for 1904-5, published in July, 1906:—

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£		£
From Rates ... ..	5,422,790	On Debt Charges ... ..	2,147,626
„ Local Taxes ... ..	59,027	„ Education ... ..	3,954,102
„ Other Loc. Authorities	584,868	„ Main Drainage ... ..	259,790
„ Trams ... ..	743,846	„ Trams ... ..	732,424
„ Rents ... ..	242,903	„ Grants to Boroughs ...	602,472
„ Imperial Subventions	1,627,178	„ Other expenditure ...	1,106,069
„ Fees, Fines, Boats, Chairs, &c. ... ..	106,406	Balance in hand ... ..	16,681
„ Interest on balances	32,146		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£8,819,164		£8,819,164
	<hr/>		<hr/>

## LONDON BOROUGH COUNCILS.

results of the elections for the London Borough Councils, which took on November 1st, 1906, was a victory for the reactionary party (self- "Municipal Reformers") all along the line. Originally possessed of 94 seats out of 1,362, they now hold 929. From being in a majority on councils only, they now dominate 22. Two boroughs have a majority of independents. One is divided almost equally between Progressives, Moderates, independents; and three only are definitely Progressive. Of the 240 votes seeking election in the Labour interest 40 have been returned, entailing a net loss of 22 seats, the principal defeat being at Woolwich, where the Labour Party were previously in a majority in the Council, and now only 13 seats out of 36.

the following table the results of the 1906 and 1903 elections are condensed:—

	1903				1906.				Nature of Majority.	
	M.	P.	L. & S.	Ind.	M.	P.	L. & S.	Ind.	1903	1906
sea .....	16	38	—	—	25	29	—	—	P	P
ndsey .....	28	23	1	2	32	20	2	—	M	M
al Green .....	3	27	—	—	—	30	—	—	P	P
rwell .....	9	45	—	6	43	11	—	6	P	M
a .....	21	15	—	—	33	3	—	—	M	M
ord .....	17	12	6	1	30	1	—	5	P & L	M
try .....	19	31	1	3	34	13	1	6	P	M
n .....	16	17	3	—	36	—	—	—	P & L	M
wich .....	14	14	—	2	20	5	—	5	P & I	M
ey .....	11	48	1	—	18	22	—	20	P	P & I
ersmith .....	23	8	1	4	15	19	1	1	M	P
stead .....	—	—	—	42	—	—	—	42	I	I
rn .....	37	4	—	1	37	4	—	1	M	M
on .....	26	31	3	—	58	2	—	—	P	M
igton .....	45	15	—	—	43	5	6	6	M	M
th .....	34	25	1	—	55	4	1	—	M	M
am .....	6	31	3	2	42	—	—	—	P	M
ebone .....	37	23	—	—	51	5	—	4	M	M
igton .....	36	24	—	—	49	7	—	4	M	M
ncras .....	20	35	5	—	48	10	2	—	P	M
.....	15	17	8	2	22	9	9	2	P & L	M
litch .....	26	16	—	—	31	9	2	—	M	M
vark .....	21	37	2	—	32	27	1	—	P	M
y .....	21	23	—	16	42	14	—	4	P & I	M
Newington .....	—	—	—	30	—	—	—	30	I	I
sworth .....	42	18	—	—	58	—	—	2	M	M
minster .....	43	15	2	—	53	5	2	—	M	M
rich .....	8	—	25	3	22	—	13	1	L	M
	594	592	62	114	929	254	40	139		

I.—Moderate or Municipal Reformer; P.—Progressive; (including Progr.-Labour)  
S.—Ind. Labour and Socialist; Ind.—Independents.



## THE PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS.

THE elections which took place on November 1st, 1906, and subsequent days, for one-third of the seats on the Provincial municipalities, resulted in a considerable gain for the representatives of Labour. About 400 Labour and Socialist candidates went to the poll, of whom 96 were successful. Of the seats secured 49 were gains. On the other hand, there were 21 losses, which leaves a net gain of 28 seats. At the same time there were considerable gains by the Conservatives, at the expense of Liberalism. In the provinces, as in London, the Liberals suffered, on the one hand, by the outcry against Socialism which scared many timid voters into joining the Tory ranks, whilst the increased number of Labour and Socialist candidates reduced their share of the working-class vote. The number of three-cornered contests was, however, fewer than usual, owing to understandings or open alliances by which Liberals and Conservatives supported one another against Labour candidates. This alliance in many cases took the shape of the Conservatives doing the fighting, and the Liberals supporting them at the poll.

(NON-POLITICAL.)

THE

## Patent-Law Reform Association,

7, Sweeting Street, Liverpool.

Hon. Secretary: JOHN H. BIGGS.

Acting Hon. Treasurer: R. C. JOHNSON.

The Association advocates the adoption of the American Patent Law on a £4 basis for the issue of valid 21 year patents, and the establishment of a Patent Fund with the surplus fees. The objects being (1) to profit poor inventors; (2) to create employment for surplus labour; (3) to raise workmen's wages; (4) to make trade far more prosperous; (5) to really benefit the public. None of these things our present Patent Law is capable of doing one-tenth part as well as the American Law.

### MINIMUM SUBSCRIPTION ONE SHILLING PER ANNUM.

The gentlemen who manage this Association seek no profit for it, and give their services to it gratuitously. They would be glad to receive increased support from inventors, patentees, and the public, for whose joint interest they are working.

The Association would be glad if 5,000 or 10,000 more patentees and inventors, past and present, would stir themselves and combine under its friendly shelter. It does not concern itself with what has been patented, but needs the moral support of greater numbers to win justice and equity for their behalf.

# SPECIAL ARTICLES.

## THE BISHOPS' VOTE.

THE RECORD OF A CENTURY.\* By S. D. SHALLARD.

THE spiritual peers have almost invariably been anti-progressive, anti-humanitarian, and anti-social reform. This fact, which Lord Shaftesbury knew only too well, may be seen from the record of their votes which is given below. Often when a majority of lay peers is on the side of humanity or commonsense, they are triumphantly overbalanced by a rally of the prelates.

Sometimes at the twelfth hour the Bishops have supported reforms when the strength of public opinion has made their voice and vote no longer necessary. But so long as the cause of reform is unpopular, the Bishops are nearly always hostile, indifferent, or absent.

### Corn Laws.

	For	Agst.
1839—Proposal to examine into effect of Corn Laws . . . . .	0	4
1840—Proposal to examine into effect of Corn Laws (after alarming demonstrations) . . . . .	5	6
1846—Proposal to examine into effect of Corn Laws (battle fought and already won) . . . . .	18	9

### Death Penalty.

	For	Agst
1810—To abolish hanging for stealing 5s. and upwards . . . . .	0	7
1811—To abolish hanging for house robbery and poaching . . . . .	0	3
1813—To abolish hanging for shoplifting . . . . .	0	4
1820—To abolish hanging for "privately stealing." The Lords agreed to an amendment that death be the penalty for over £10. Five Bishops present, and silent.		
1834—The Bishops' vote ensured a majority of two in favour of the continuance of hanging for theft, the majority of lay peers being in favour of reducing the penalty.		

Dr. Josiah Oldfield stated on June 27th, 1906, that having circularised the religious leaders on this penalty, practically the whole Bench declared for hanging.

### Education and Children's Labour.

1807.—Schools Bill, authorising expenditure out of the rates. For, 3; against, 15. "An innovation that might shake the foundations of our religion."  
—CANTERBURY.

In 1842 on Mines Regulation Act they were silent, while the Lords agreed to amendment which deprived pit lads of their chance of education.

In 1860 the Commons enacted in the Mines Regulation Act that no boy under 12 years should be employed unless he could already read or write. The Lords agreed to add: Or unless he produced a schoolmaster's certificate that he was getting five hours' schooling weekly. Lord Kinnaird protested passionately against young boys working 13 or 14 hours per day and then being shut up in a schoolroom. The Bishops were silent. His protest dropped.

In 1893 the Merionethshire Intermediate and Technical Education Scheme was thrown out at the instance of the Bishops, and schemes for Cardiganshire and Denbighshire have since been thrown out, although they would have

\* There are at present two Archbishops and 85 Bishops. The Archbishopsrics and London, Winchester, and Durham give seats in the Upper Chamber by right. A further 21 Bishops take seats by seniority.

helped poor scholars from elementary schools to intermediate, and so on to colleges.

The formation of the present Education Department was supported by only three Bishops, 15 voting against.

In the debates on the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903, the bishops lost no opportunity of pressing the financial claims of the Church. The Bishop of Hereford, who alone stood out for a more generous attitude, said, "The policy of grab is deplorable in ordinary life, but it is anathema in the Church of Christ." His protest was disregarded. The rest of the Episcopal Bench continued to take a purely partisan and mercenary point of view.

Again in 1906, when the new Education Bill was under consideration, the Bishops introduced various amendments with the object of baulking the unified plan of national education, of insisting upon religious tests for teachers, and of limiting the powers of the Local Authorities in dealing with the schools under their jurisdiction.

## RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

### I. University Tests.

	For	Agst.
1834—To admit Dissenters ..	2	22
The Bishop of London said that if admitted by right, they could not then be made to attend Church (April 21). Exeter said this attempt to force Dissenters into universities was sheer persecution of the Church (April 21). Llandaff said the constitutional liberties of the country were endangered (June 24).		
1830—To admit Dissenters ..	2	15
1867—Abolition of University Tests generally ..	2	4
1869—Abolition of University Tests generally ..	0	3
1870—Abolition of University Tests generally ..	5	10
Exeter made an eloquent appeal for it.		
1871—Abolition of University Tests generally ..	3	8

### 2. Office Qualifications Against Catholics and Dissenters.

	For	Agst.
1862—Abolition of Church Oath	1	12
1863—Abolition of Church Oath	0	8
1865—Abolition of Church Oath	1	10

### 3. Burials.

1876—Allowing Christian and Orderly Services to Dissenters	1	16
1877—Allowing Christian and Orderly Services to Dissenters	1	15
1880—Allowing Christian and Orderly Services to Dissenters	10	6

### 4. Roman Catholic Disabilities.

	For	Agst.
1821—R. C. Relief .. ..	2	25
1822—R. C. Relief .. ..	1	23
1825—R. C. Relief .. ..	2	23
1828—R. C. Relief .. ..	2	27
(Ireland roused to the verge of war.)		
1829—R. C. Relief .. ..	10	19
1829—R. C. Relief .. ..	10	20

In 1844 a great measure of Catholic relief was carried in the enforced absence of all the Bishops except London, who protested vigorously.

### 5. Jewish Disabilities.

	For	Agst.
1833-4—Relief Bill .. ..	3	20
Canterbury said: If Bill carried, Parliament would be degraded in the eyes of the country.		
1848—Relief Bill .. ..	4	17
1851—Relief Bill .. ..	5	9
1853—Relief Bill .. ..	5	11
1858—Jews in Parliament ..	7	11

### 6. Church Rates.

1858—Abolition of compulsory rates .. ..	0	24
1860—Abolition of compulsory rates .. ..	0	16
1867—Abolition of compulsory rates .. ..	0	7
In 1844 the Unitarians' Chapel Bill was rejected, the Bishop of London saying it "contravened every principle of truth, justice, equity, and religion." (May 3.)		

## POLITICAL REFORM.

	For	Agst.
1831—Reform Bill .. ..	2	21
Riotous scenes followed. Canterbury and London badly handled in the streets.		
1832—Reform Bill .. ..	12	15

**Municipal Corporations Reform.**

	For	Agst.
35—Lords' amendment that the handful of liverymen, &c., should continue "to have and enjoy the same share and benefit of the common lands and public stock, money, chattels, &c., as heretofore." . . .	12	4
Original clauses supported throughout by one or more of these four, with all other Bishops absent or against.		

**Parish Councils Bill, 1894.**

clause 1—Amendment to exclude all parishes under 500 population . . .	14	0
clause 2—Amendment to prevent working men as voters . . .	14	3
clause 3—Amendment to prevent working men as councillors . . .	4	0
clause 4—Amendment to prevent meetings in schoolrooms . . .	13	0
(This would have left public-houses as the only meeting-places.)		
clause 14—Amendment to prevent parish trustees of charities . . .	10	0
clause 44—Amendment to exclude lodgers and service franchise . . .	9	4

**Labour Questions.**

On labour questions the Bishops are usually absent or silent.

83—To abolish payment of wages in public-houses. . . . . (Ab. 24)	2	0
90—Employers' Liability: Amendment to delete employers' responsibility for foremen's actions . . . . .	1	0
93—Employers' Liability: Amendment to allow contracting out . . . . .	7	0
93—Employers' Liability: Amendment to limit operations of Act to three years . . . . .	1	0

**Women's Questions.**

In 1834 a Poor Law Amendment Act relieved putative fathers from support illegitimates. Exeter spoke vehemently against this, censuring the Poor Law Commissioners for referring to the "unfortunate" young men, while speaking of the mothers' "vice." London opposed Exeter in an astonishing speech, and led all other Bishops present in support of alteration. (July 28th.)

In 1884, and again twice in 1885, when by collusion between Lords Salisbury, Rosebery, and Kimberley the Women's Franchise question was shelved, the Bishops sat in deathly silence.

**Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.**

	For	Agst.
83—Marriage of Deceased Wife's Sister . . . . .	0	22
93—Marriage of Deceased Wife's Sister . . . . .	0	17
94—Marriage of Deceased Wife's Sister . . . . .	0	21

Majority of temporal Lords in favour. Bill only defeated by 9.

**Peace.**

Mr. Howard Evans, chairman of International Arbitration League, said in the *Crusader*, October, 1904, that every war in which England had been engaged had been justified and glorified by the Bishops. Treaties of arbitration had lately come into favour, but the Anglican Church had done nothing to promote them. The cause had never had help or sympathy from any Bishops save the late Dr. Westcott and the present Bishop of Hereford.

**Chinese Labour.**

On March 4th, 1904, on the Chinese Labour Ordinance debate, the Archbishop of Canterbury withdrew his previous timid doubts as to the moral effects of the Ordinance. He said that he, for one, "in ignorance" had spoken hastily. After all, it was a "regrettable necessity." (Hansard, 131, 187.)

March 21st, 1904, on Lord Coleridge's resolution against Chinese Labour Ordinance:—Bishop of Hereford, for; Bishop of Bristol, against; two Archbishops and 22 Bishops absent. Only a moral question, of course.

March 29th, 1906, on vote of confidence in Lord Milner, after his admission of illegally permitting flogging: For (including Canterbury), 5; against, 1.

## CHINESE LABOUR.

By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

THE story of Chinese Labour in the Transvaal during the year 1906 has been one of continuous perfidy on the part of the Liberal Government at home.

Returned to power largely on account of the opposition of the people of this country to Chinese slavery in any shape or form, they have burked the main issue at every point, and only carried out a few minor changes which have been totally ineffective, retaining all the while a hypocritical devotion to the popular ideal.

One of the first events to happen in the Transvaal subsequent to the going to press of *The Reformers' Year Book* for 1906 was the mass meeting of 1,500 miners on December 10th, 1905, in the Square, Johannesburg, when the following resolution was carried with only one dissentient vote:—

That the time has arrived for stopping the further importation of Chinese, and for repatriating those already here when their time has expired, at the expense of the importers.

But the miners were not content with this great demonstration, and the triumphant and immense majority against having the Chinese. They knew that the Rand papers were all in the hands of the Randlords, and all hostile to their demonstration; that no decent report would appear in the local Press; and, further, the cable agencies could not be trusted to cable a reliable account to the home papers. They accordingly set to and subscribed £150 to enable a verbatim report of their proceedings to be made, and the newspapers of South Africa and of England to be properly informed of the result.

### Expectations of the Liberal Government.

Shortly before this (December 4th) the Conservative Government at home had gone out of office. The new Liberal Administration which was formed gave promise of dealing drastically with the question, and a categorical statement was made that the further introduction of Chinese would be stopped pending the grant of full responsible government to the Transvaal.

Not till after the general election was it discovered that the late Government had prior to its demise granted permits for 16,000 additional Chinese to be recruited and imported, and that the new Government did not feel competent to revoke these licenses.

Whether they could have done so administratively or not is a matter of opinion, and legal views seem to have been divided on the point, but such revocation could undoubtedly have been carried out by Act of Parliament, and in default of any other method this step ought to have been taken. Instead, however, the Government calmly submitted to having their promises made of no effect without even publicly exposing the man who was responsible for the trickery. Moreover, they determined to retain Lord Selbourne as High Commissioner, though he had already declared himself in favour of retaining the Chinese.

Shortly after this, in the debate on the Address, Mr. Winston Churchill (Under-Secretary for the Colonies), referring to the term *Chinese Slavery*, said it was a "terminological inexactitude." Nevertheless, the Labour men succeeded in obtaining from the Government three pledges. These were: (1) That the Transvaal, when it obtained Constitutional Government, should not inherit the Chinese Ordinance; (2) that when it made afresh such regulations as it thought fit relating to the Chinese already in the country, no regulations at all resembling the present Ordinance would be allowed; and, finally, (3) that re-enlistment, if permitted at all, must be on terms totally different from those at that time in force.

The Government further undertook to repatriate at its own expense all coolies who desired to be repatriated. The way in which this promise was kept illustrates very well the manner in which the Government has dealt with the question throughout. When the proclamation making this offer of repatriation was posted up in the mines a professed translation was sent home and read in the House of Commons. The *Manchester Guardian*, however, made an independent translation which proved to differ in important points from the official version, and in particular to contain words bidding the coolies tremble and obey," which are never used in China in proclamations granting concessions. The Government had to admit (June 20th) that their official version was incorrect, but no valid explanation was ever afforded. Moreover the general tenor of the proclamation was quite different from what they had promised, and only allowed repatriation under special circumstances, with the result that for some months only a dozen coolies in all availed themselves of it. Subsequently the Government consented to make slight modifications, but retained the clause by which a Chinaman wishing to leave had to return for a month after having given notice of his desire. Bearing in mind that a month later the displeasure of the compound managers would deter most men from its application, it is not surprising that only some 200 coolies out of 60,000 were sent home under it. Most of these consisted no doubt of "undesirables" whom the mineowners would otherwise have had to repatriate at their own expense.

Meanwhile, on March 14th, the Government refused to interfere with the convention with China by which Great Britain is itself a party to the recruiting Chinese, and on March 21st refused further to censure Lord Milner for gallily consenting to the flogging of coolies during his term of office in South Africa.

### Intimidation practised in the Transvaal.

On July 30th the *Daily Chronicle* published a letter from its correspondent the course of which it was pointed out that so long as the Foreign Labour Department was in the hands of the Chamber of Mines, the Chinese would be aided to take steps to protect themselves. When Lee Kwi Yu was arrested and taken away from the Crasus compound by Mr. Jamieson for summary repatriation, 1,700 coolies signed a petition for his release, and started to raise a riot to enable him to get justice. Then, it is stated, the officials of the Foreign Labour Department stepped in and spread the report amongst the Chinese that if they did not at once cease their endeavours they would be treated as pirates"—that is, beheaded. The movement at once stopped. The real steps, in his opinion, which would be effective in abolishing the system of slavery would be the following:—

1. The removal of the inspectors of the Foreign Labour Department, who, under the guise of protectors of the Chinese, intimidate them on behalf of the Chamber of Mines.
2. The restoration of the right of access to the Courts of Justice.
3. The abolition of the cell system on the mines.
4. The grant to the Chinese of the right to combine for their legal protection.

But the Government took no step in any of these directions. Nor did it make any move in the direction of laws of the Australian Gold Law type. Instead it introduced a Constitution for the Transvaal, of which an account may be found elsewhere (page 180). It is sufficient to note here that the *Manchester Guardian*, though a definite Liberal organ, was constrained to point out that under it, the miners possessing as they did no economic freedom, could have no real political freedom in recording their vote.

Mr. Winston Churchill, who outlined the new Constitution in the House of Commons, made at the same time two statements regarding the Robins Mines—the first that the Government were permitting them to recruit natives independently of the Native Labour Association, and the second that they were starting an experiment in white labour over which Mr. F. W. Creswell was going to preside. The first was true in the letter and false in the spirit, as only one permit (quite inadequate to compete with the Association's monopoly) was granted. The second appears to be wholly without foundation as Mr. Creswell had never been approached in the matter at all.

At the same time, the whole question will have to be settled in the last resort by the forces on the spot. The principal event in the Transvaal has been the formation of the National Party, which, composed mainly of Englishmen, set itself in definite opposition to the financial group who call themselves "Progressives." The new party, one of whose leaders is Mr. F. H. P. Creswell, has declared itself emphatically against the introduction of the Chinese, and for the repatriation of those at present in the country on the expiration of the terms and at the expense of the mineowners. And at a meeting of 4,000 people held in the Wanderers' Hall on November 12th, Mr. Smuts received a great ovation, and a motion in this sense was carried with only two dissentients.

Figures were supplied in Parliament at the beginning of November which gave the final lie to the assertion that Chinese labour meant the employment of more white men in the mines. Winston Churchill was able to show that an increase of more than 3,000 coolies had been concurrent with a decrease of 1,000 white miners, while at the same time the number of Kaffirs employed had remained practically unaltered. The proportion of white men to coloured of all races was, in May, 1904, before the importation of Chinese, as 10 to 59, whereas in November, 1906, it was as 10 to 84, and the number of white men employed per 100 stamps, which was 250 in 1904, was 210 in 1906.

Mr. Consul Bucknill produced an official report upon the moral conditions of the mines, which the Government refused to publish, presumably because of the appalling revelations which it contained. Enough is known, however, of its contents to justify the statement that the very worst anticipations of those who were acquainted with Oriental vice have been fulfilled, with the connivance, and in some cases, the actual assistance, of the mine officials; and to show that the Archbishop of Canterbury in acquiescing in the importation was a traitor to his avowed faith.

On November 15th debates took place in both Houses upon the subject. In the Lords the Primate attempted in vain a kind of deathbed repentance, while Lord Elgin stated that the evidence proved that vice existed in most if not in all the compounds. Mr. Lehmann, in the Commons, demanded the publication of the report, and that repatriation of the coolies should be immediately commenced. Mr. Churchill, in defending the action of the Government, gave no undertaking to adopt more drastic methods, and left a totally unsatisfactory impression upon the House, which was only partially improved by Campbell-Bannerman, who said that the Government might be trusted in the matter. Unfortunately, the country has too much experience of how little a Liberal Government is prepared to carry out its promises.

Meanwhile outrages by the Chinese have been of almost daily occurrence, and at the same time outrages committed upon them with the connivance of those in authority have been in many instances brought home, in spite of the serious intimidation of witnesses.

Pending the introduction of self-government no further importation is to take place after November 30th, 1906. Everything depends on the character of the representatives sent to the Lower House in the first elections in the Transvaal. These are expected to take place early in 1907.

## THE LATCH-KEY DECISION.

COMPLETE change has occurred in the interpretation of the registration Laws during the year. In November, 1905, the Court of Appeal gave a decision in regard to the position of lodgers which upset the view previously taken by revising barristers. During 1906 that decision has taken effect.

The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884, and the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878, by their joint operation set up two new classes of voters, and it is upon the difference between these two classes that the "latch-key" decision turns. They are:—

- I. Inhabitant occupiers, being owners or tenants for 12 months before July 15th in any year, of any dwelling-house in respect of which poor rate has been paid.
- II. Men who (a) have occupied as lodgers for a like period lodgings in the same dwelling-house, of which the value, unfurnished, is £10; (b) have resided in such lodgings for that period; and (c) have claimed to be registered as voters at the next ensuing registration.

Class I., it will be seen, are qualified as owners or tenants of a dwelling-house respectively (a) of value and (b) of residence in the strict sense; and, further (c), they are not disqualified if they occupy one or more other dwelling-houses in succession in the same division.

Class II. must, as lodgers, occupy, reside, and claim in respect of lodgings of £10 value in the same dwelling-house.

### The Prevailing Understanding Hitherto.

There seems to have been a general understanding among registration agents on all sides in politics that wherever a landlord lived on the same premises with any number of tenants, none of these could be in Class I., but that the mere fact of his living there limited them to claiming under Class II.

It was this understanding that was reversed by the decision of the Court in the *Davenport* case, and it was decided that the matter was one of the "control" of the landlord. If the landlord did not exercise "control" the tenant was entitled to be put upon the register in Class I., whatever the value of his tenancy, but if the landlord did exercise "control," then the tenant could only claim under Class II., and even then could not be put on the register, unless his holding was at least £10 value, and he had resided in the same dwelling-house over 12 months. The actual meaning of "control" is still undefined, and as it is left largely to the caprice of the revising barrister to decide, a great number of diversities of opinion have prevailed; but it is generally considered that if the tenant possesses a latch-key of his lodgings, the landlord does not have "control."

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of that judgment. As a result of it a well-qualified authority has asserted that under this year's revision a million voters, mostly of the working classes, will have been added to the electorate; and it is probable that when the fact of the judgment is more widely known, still larger numbers will be allowed to vote. The position is that something very closely approximating to manhood suffrage now prevails, the limitation being residential and not any longer one of property. It should be noticed also that this change renders the necessity for the removal of the sex disqualification of the franchise more urgent; and also would give under that measure the franchise to the great army of working women, widows, spinsters, and others who at present rent lodgings in their own name.



## MINING ROYALTIES.

THERE are three distinct proposals for dealing with our present system of royalty rents on minerals: (1) That the gross value which they represent should be treated as land values, and taxed on those grounds—if necessary, to extinction. (2) That the royalties should be at once reduced, with a view to releasing the metal-producing industries in particular, and all industries so far as they use coal, from their assumed handicap in the face of foreign competition. (3) That they should be nationalised, leaving time to show how far they should be reduced and how far retained as a natural rent tribute to the national revenues.

The amount of royalties being a matter of private settlement, and the local variations being considerable, the facts are exceedingly difficult to obtain. Coal royalties, for instance, vary from 2½d., paid to the Crown in the Forest of Dean, to 11d. paid on Fife "cannel" coal. Apart from such variations, the whole system is very complicated, as will be seen in the following facts.

### Some Facts.

The total royalties on coal, ironstone, iron ore, limestone, and other minerals have been variously estimated at from five to eight millions annually. The actual figure is probably somewhere between these two.

The information laid before the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1889-93, showed a total of £4,873,000 royalties and wayleaves; but these figures are misleading, because based upon output. The actual practice is for a certain minimum rent, called a "dead rent," to be charged. This has to be paid whether coal is or is not being got up. It is usually a fairly heavy rent, often reckoned at so much per acre of surface soil, but really based upon probable output, so that floods, accidents, bad trade, or strikes mean that royalties may have been paid on two or three times the actual output. It is true that these over-paid amounts are set to the credit of the colliery owner, and he is allowed a certain period within which he may—if he can—work up the "shorts," as they are called, so as to balance the account. Usually he cannot.

There are no general statistics available of the "shorts" and the consequent over-payments, but when certain districts are taken the actual sums paid become more apparent. Mr. Mason (M.P., Lanark), speaking on the Mining Royalties Bill, 1886, told the House of Commons (May, 14th, 1886) that "dead rents" in Lanarkshire ran from £500 to £5,000, and that the Lanarkshire owners drew £114,000 per annum from royalties. "Mabon" (Rhondda) said that in the 10 years 1875-85 the South Wales owners alone had drawn £6,000,000 in royalties. Mr. C. M. Percy, in his book on "Mine Rents" (Wigan: 1888), shows that the Cleveland ironstone, coal, and limestone owners, from 1850-1886, drew £6,000,000 in royalties. The total sum drawn up to now on the Cumberland haemetite iron must be almost fabulous, as Prof. Sorley reports the royalties at 2s., or more than twice that of Cleveland, and adds that they have risen to 9s. or 10s. during times of high prices.

Nor do these calculations take into account either the amounts paid in fines for renewal of leases, or additional rent sometimes paid for the surface soil, which latter is always several times, and even five or six times, the ordinary value of the land. Mr. C. A. V. Conybeare (M.P., Camboorne, Cornwall), when pressing his Mining Royalties Bill in 1886, told Mr. Childers that he had known 10 times the agricultural rent to be charged for the surface land of Cornish mines. (*Mining Journal*, 3rd April, 1886). Needless to say, the farmers dispossessed from their holdings received none of this.

### **Wages v. Royalties.**

How this is viewed by the miner has been well put by Mr. John Wilson, M.P., who more than once has stated that he has hewn hundreds of tons of coal at 7d. and 8d. a ton, on which the royalty owner was taking from 7d. to 9d., and then up to 1s. Mr. Mason, in the speech already quoted, told the House that he knew of Lanarkshire hewers then getting 10d. for coal which paid 1s. 4d. royalty rent.

### **Foreign Competition.**

The effect upon export prices, as affecting foreign competition, is difficult to arrive at, because of the completely different systems existing on the continent.

In Great Britain and the United States the ownership of minerals goes with the surface soil. In the Isle of Man, Forest of Dean, and parts of Derbyshire, British minerals are owned by the Crown; elsewhere private ownership is most invariable. In all continental countries State ownership is the rule. In some parts of Italy the domainal system exists, the State either working the mines or more usually putting up the working of them to auction. In the rest of Italy, in France, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Spain, and Austria there exists a system of Crown concessions. For these only a low royalty is charged; but the concessionaire gets a long lease, is virtually owner, and runs the working of the mines, sometimes, as in the case of the richest Spanish mines, at royalties approaching even towards our own, although this does not seem to be common. It is, however, certain that the figures usually given as to continental royalties represent only the royalties paid to the State; whereas cases have been found of even two further royalties on leases sublet and again sublet.

One thing that does stand out clearly is that other nations are richer by a proportion of the royalties which the State receives. It is equally clear at the fact of the exploitation of continental concessions does not lessen the amount which our industry loses annually in these payments. It only forces the lesson that industry is everywhere being laid under toll and tribute to the last extent which it will bear.

### **The Rent Theory.**

Those who oppose any interference with our system of mining royalties allege that they do not affect prices since rent does not enter into price. This is the case with true "economic" rent, but royalties are something more than rent payment. A coal or iron mine is a very different thing from a farm or a site of a factory.

The farm becomes more valuable by cultivation; the site becomes more valuable by occupation; but the more work is put into a mine the less valuable becomes, until one day the mineral is gone, and the whole value has disappeared with it. Mining royalties are to some extent instalments of a purchase-price paid for a quantity of minerals, and cannot be regarded simply as "economic" rent.

### **The Only Way.**

Enough has been said to show the difficulties of dealing with the question solely by taxation or by rent courts or sliding scales. The most practical method of dealing with the matter is by the nationalisation of the royalties, even the extent to which they should be reduced, if at all, would be easily ascertainable; whilst so far as they were maintained they would form, as rent should form, a valuable part of the national revenue.

## COMPLETION AND OPENING OF THE NATIONAL REFORM INSTITUTE.

Extracted, in anticipation, from "The Reformers' Year Book," for 1914.

By JOSEPH EDWARDS.

UNDOUBTEDLY the most promising and far-reaching event of the past year has been the completion and official opening of the magnificent building in Westminster known as the National Reform Institute. The detailed story of its inception,\* development, and endowment on a permanent basis within the past ten years is given in the Handbook to the Institute issued freely to all sympathetic workers and supporters.

Its prominent features, commanding outlook and conveniently arranged plan are already familiar to our readers. Surrounded by trees and plenty of space, possessing its own Tube and tram accommodation, postal, telegraph and distributing offices, in close touch with the offices of the Executive Government, it stands at the centre of national and international activities, a fit and active brain inspiring and directing the reforming energies of the British people.

The basements are given over to store-rooms, power storage, sanitary and lavatory accommodation. On the ground floor are fine entrance and reception halls, embellished with mural paintings of historic scenes, with cloak, waiting and refreshment rooms. Surrounding these, and opening inwards and outwards on all sides of the building, are the great central stores, sample and show-rooms, where may be inspected goods of every description, manufactured under artistic and healthy conditions, to supply all the intellectual and physical wants of our common humanity. Here, the National Co-operators have their splendid show-rooms, thoroughly organised, supplying anything and everything to any part of London within 12 hours. There, the Institute Literature Store attracts eager custom, for all the publications of all the reforming bodies in the country, particularly of all those housed in the Institute, may be seen and purchased. The great national newspapers and periodicals, and especially the latest publications dealing with human improvement, are here systematically displayed for sale. "Reform," the Institute's official weekly, was presented freely to all visitors during the first week. A monthly "Summary" as well as a daily issue are in active preparation.

In addition to the constantly-running lifts, for passengers and goods, a wide and handsome stairway, at the side of the entrance hall, leads to the upper floors. Convenience and ease of access are the keynotes of the large Conference Room, the still larger Public Hall, with its fine organ, and the numerous smaller rooms for Committees and private meetings. Surrounding these, as on all floors, the light outer rooms are devoted to the administrative offices of all the great national reforming agencies—political, social reform, labour, trade-union, land, educational, ethical, secular, temperance, vegetarian, housing, women's, fiscal, co-operative, municipal, and even include agents of the Social Institutes now at work in the provinces, as well as in other countries.

The Central Reading Room and Information Bureau, generously staffed, forces itself under the notice and into the service of all. Here is the cream of the world's reforms; there a digest and classified file of press references on every current reform question. Very appreciable help is afforded the regular staff in their digests and cuttings files by the officials of the great reforming agencies congregated in the Institute. Already a new spirit is showing itself

\* See articles in 1905 Year Book, pp. 170-1, and 1906 issue, pp. 220-1.

along the workers thus happily brought together. No longer does each society or group work for its particular objects alone. Knowing that the results of the work of all other societies and individuals are placed freely at its disposal, it strives to bring in return a worthy contribution of its own ripening harvest to the common store. Impartially and unostentatiously the journals and official organs of all reform movements are arranged for reference, properly listed and grouped. No man is at a loss for guidance and information.

Characteristic of the essential idea of the varied activities of the Institute—each aiding each the higher truths to find”—the Central Reference Library finds its place at the top of the building. It is in reality a Library of Libraries, for it contains the pick of the valuable and interesting items from the Libraries of all the affiliated societies, in addition to the most complete sets extant of the special publications of all the reform societies in the English-speaking world. It has already been enriched by several unique sociological collections, gifts from enthusiasts and pioneers, and others have been earmarked for its permanent service. Without doubt here is to be found the richest mine of efforts toward social amelioration ever thrown open to investigators and reformers, and each year will add to its wealth. The chief sociological periodicals and books have been very completely indexed, and at very brief notice a reader may command the results of the best thought and latest research on any desired reform prominent within the past 50 years. A large staff of investigators, tabulators and translators is kept constantly employed in supplying powder and shot,” “chapter and verse,” for societies and workers throughout the country. Other helpers are kept busy giving verbal telephonic information to subscribers, while the organised messenger-corps, aided by tubes and wire, is able to deliver messages, letters or books from library or office to other cases within a few minutes.

The residential accommodation includes convenient quarters for the director, who, in person or by deputy, is constantly in attendance night and day, and is accessible for consultation and advice, either in his own offices or in the Information Bureau. Board and residence are furnished at very low charges to a limited number of visitors desiring to study at the headquarters English social conditions and conditions, and provision is also made for the accommodation of selected students graduating, by courses of service and tuition in the work of the Institute, for the coveted rank of Social Doctor.

It is a welcome sign of better days in the Reform Movement that the societies represented in the Institute include all the great national and international ones. Most of these, with the long notice given, were able to move in ready time on the opening day; others have engaged offices, which will be more fully met on the termination of existing agreements. Method has not been overlooked in the allocation of the offices in suites and floors. The four great national Federations of Co-operators, Land Reformers, Socialists and Trade Unionists occupy the larger central positions, while between and around them are grouped similar affiliated or cognate societies. Nor are the smaller movements crushed out by the larger. Here are peace advocates; there women's societies; above, temperance in food and drink is taught; beyond, political, social, and international bodies abound. There is much more of hope now, more comradeship and mutual help than of old. And the seaside holiday and retiring homes connected with the Institute are the scenes of many happy reunions of the older workers.

The modern conveniences of the Institute afford equal advantages to all members. Each society is placed in direct telephonic communication with every other society or administrative office in the building. Labour is minimised

and time saved by every known device. Lifts up and down, plainly marked floor-plans, uniformity in the position of conveniences, refreshment and common rooms—economy, punctuality, ease of working, and comfort are expected, insisted on, throughout. Work here is more pleasurable, it is more thoroughly and expeditiously performed. While more is got through, previous long hours of social servants are considerably curtailed.

Pending the establishment of "The Reform Daily," the varied activities of the Institute are recorded in an official *Program*, freely distributed to every subscriber in the building, and posted to outsiders at cost. Agendas of the day's business meetings, with hourly time-table of public meetings, lectures and other Institute events—all arranged for the convenience of the greatest number, and, as far as possible, so as not to clash—list of visitors, brief notices of importance, future fixtures, with personal and societies' advertisements, fill up the interesting pages of the handy *Program*.

Full membership of the Institute, admitting to all public meetings and including membership of the Social Club, is conferred by a fixed minimum subscription paid to any of the affiliated societies. Approved outsiders and strangers are also admitted to all the privileges of the Institute by annual or periodical tickets. The administration of the business of the Institute is in the hands of an Executive Council, elected by the whole body of affiliated societies and subscribers, and meeting weekly. The broad policy and aims are laid down in a carefully prepared, comprehensive Trust Deed, and the Trustees are tried public men democratically elected by the founders, donors and societies. During the ten years of incessant preparatory organisation occupied in founding the Institute, gifts and properties of the aggregate value of over £750,000 were received for the purchase of land, and the erection of the magnificent superstructure. The balance of expenses was met by borrowing from the surplus funds of subscribing societies. Interest on this "debt," and all the expenses of staff and upkeep, are amply met by the revenue received from the 300 societies renting offices, from affiliation and membership fees, and the rents and receipts from shops, stores, restaurants, students' fees and public halls. Subscriptions and donations are regularly increasing, and it is expected that the entire debt will be repaid within a few years. Its whole energies and revenues will then be available for the encouragement and endowment of necessary reforms long overdue, and the spread of more enlightened ideas throughout the country and the world. It has already been found possible, with so substantial an endowment, to make a large rebate to affiliated societies, pro rata to all amounts paid in rents, services and fees. This surplus, available as dividend, is increasing, and forms an acceptable "grant in aid" to most subscribing societies. Extraordinary grants are made at the discretion of the Executive, where exceptional circumstances render these desirable.

Already have watchful eyes in other lands noted this strikingly successful experiment in co-ordinated action for social ends, and are anxious to emulate a good example. Then, when other countries have consolidated their inherent forces of reform into National Institutes, will come the days of International Reform Conferences, of the breaking down of useless barriers to progress and mutual good-will, of Alliances and Federations, and the heralding of the time when

"The war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furled

"In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

*Founders, subscribers, and original members of the Institute are now being enrolled. Support and suggestions should be addressed to, and further particulars and literature may be obtained from: Joseph Edwards, 21, Palace Square, Norwood, S.E.*

## PATENT LAW REFORM.

By J. H. BIGGS, HON. SEC., PATENT LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION.

In Australia, when rabbits take charge of a sheep farm, their sharp little teeth eat the grass so short that sheep cannot live there after them. Legal and capitalist interests too often leave the inventor and honest patentee in a similar condition. Ever since lawyers in 1769 sold James Watt a useless patent for his invention of the steam engine, and afterwards ate up the whole of his profits by needless law suits over it, our Patent Law has been in a discreditable and ruinous condition.

We have established probably the longest list of ruined and heart-broken inventors of any country in the world. In 1790, at a time when our own inventors had to pass each patent through 17 different offices before issue, America evolved the only style of Patent Law which is capable of really benefiting honest inventors and genuine trade interests.

The result of this wise policy is that nearly the whole of the new industries have settled in that country. In our colonies, and in Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, &c., the very reverse is the case, and English inventors, syndicates, or companies can make no headway against any of them in introducing patented new inventions, which they soon find hang round their necks like a millstone, for it proves to be a fact that wherever "renewal fees" or "compulsory working" have been in use in any country to demoralise it, the public resist the introduction of "new machinery" and few new inventions generally.

So well is this fact known among scientific and experienced inventors that for many years past they have been settling in America or sending their inventions to friends or relatives in America to patent in their own name. Then these inventions give rise to new industries, and it is the American workers and public who benefit, and not our own people.

It has been said that the salaries of the judges are paid out of the Patent Office surplus, notwithstanding protests to the contrary. One thing in this respect is quite clear, that prior to 1852, sinecurists like the former Earl of Roslyn, a wealthy Mr. Dundas, or a Rev. Mr. Thurlow, were quartered on the Patent Office, and since that time up to 1876 there was a bad case of official plunder of some £310,367.

Among those who receive "registered monopoly" from the Patent Office, the only class of men at all capable of providing funds for such a vicious system are the wealthy calico printers or textile manufacturers with a successful design, or merchants with their "Trade Marks," who, unlike inventors, start with a ready income in hand, and could easily pay the Patent Office yearly a small percentage on their monopoly turnover, without inconvenience.

What people apply for at the Patent Office is not paper and printing, which could probably be obtained for far less money elsewhere, but "Registered monopoly," which ought either not to be sold to anyone at all, or should be charged at the same price to rich and poor alike. But this first principle of equity appears to have never entered the heads of the Patent Office officials, presumably through their being lawyers closely acquainted with the way of the real law, and the Patent, Design, and Trade Marks Act of 1883 up to December 31st, 1905, has practically saddled on the backs of our struggling inventors an overcharge of more than £2,012,000 to make up for the low rating of the above wealthy people. An arrangement of this sort may have been bought very "smart" at the time, but few will think that it was particularly

honest; and it has had the sad effect of stunting the growth of invention in this country so that our inventors here cannot possibly compete successfully with those of America.

We have quantity in invention, but not quality, and the latter can never be attained except by taking over the American Patent Law en bloc here in place of our own, which is hopelessly out of date. What is termed "provisional protection" with us is practically no protection at all, and it is said to have been solely introduced into our system to provide extra fees for Crown lawyers. Inventors of sense should only apply with a "Complete Specification" in the first instance.

#### Advice to Patentees.

Until the American Patent Law is adopted for this country, the friends and relatives of inventors should urge them to patent alone for America, which they can easily and safely do through any chartered Patent Agent in their neighbourhood.

An analysis of the working of the 1883 Act up to the end of 1905 (the latest date and figures obtainable) gives an interesting insight as to the system on which this and many class-made laws are laid out.

The first thing that strikes anyone reviewing the figures of the Analysis is that the term "Patent Office" for the office of issue, is a misnomer. Its proper name would appear to be the "Designs and Trade Marks Office," since it issues over 53 per cent. of monopolies to wealthy manufacturers and merchants at 5·8 per cent. of the general charge. Our inventors paid 88·8 per cent. of the total charge of the establishment, although they only got 32½ per cent. of the monopolies issued, and these as a rule are not allowed to live long enough to pay back their cost, or to get into general use.

Where the wisdom comes in of treating scientific and other inventors in this way nobody knows, as it necessarily confines invention in this country within its narrowest limits. Specifications of the present day rarely represent anything as yet in actual existence, but only that which the inventor hopes, if he gets the chance, to develop in his own way. These specifications, without their inventors, only mislead people. But the legal heads of the Patent Office look upon such specifications as if they were title deeds of landed property to be seized through eviction, and the inventors treated as crofters, who have the value of their own creation seized by predatory land-owners.

The difference between an invention in the air, which cannot be touched, and land on which people stand, is so great that they cannot be wisely treated in the same way. But this has always been the endeavour of the legal authorities and the application of the land system to inventions has been disastrous in its results.

The Patent Office, in fact, has been run for any object but the promotion of practical invention (which alone benefits the public). Fees for agents, patent cases for lawyers, and the payment for rich men's monopolies by victimising inventors, are apparently the sole object for running the Patent Office. Meanwhile, the preparation of valuable inventions, such as Edison's, in this country is out of the question. All such inventions have to be evolved in America, and come to us second hand, costing many times what they would had they been evolved in this country, and under similar circumstances, by our own inventors.

Our whole patent system is thoroughly bad, and the law will have to be taken in hand and brought up to date on American lines.

[See Reformers' Year Book, 1906, p. 99; 1905, p. 174; 1904, p. 128; 1903, p. 116; 1902, p. 28; 1901, p. 93.]

## IRELAND.

### The Celtic Renaissance and the Labour Movement.

THE year 1907 is to be a landmark in modern Irish history. An overwhelming majority of the House of Commons is pledged to some form of Home Rule. A small but influential section of the Unionist party seems inclined to accept the situation frankly. Even Ulster sends a minority of Unionists to Parliament, its representation now comprising 15 Nationalists, one Home Rule Liberal, two Devolutionist Liberals, and 15 Unionists only. In many other ways the situation has entirely changed since 1886.

With the death of Parnell new forces were let loose in Ireland. The Labour movement suddenly showed its strength and independence. There arose, too, a movement in favour of Irish industries. A third force, giving a breath of spirituality to the others, was the revival of the national language and literature.

The Irish language is the oldest of the Celtic group, A finished language, 2000 years ago, its melodious system of verse gave to Europe the origin of rhyme. Its literature, scattered throughout the libraries of Europe, includes work of the greatest historical value.

### The Gaelic League.

Thirty years ago, the spoken tongue seemed a dying force. By 1891 there were fewer than 700,000 Irish-speaking persons, and barely 40,000 who spoke Irish alone. Meanwhile, however, the study of the literature had produced a new school of poetic and dramatic writers, including W. B. Yeats, Stopford Brooke, Douglas Hyde, Katherine Tynan, Dr. Sigerson, Dora Sigerson (Mrs. Clement Shorter), Nora Hopper (Mrs. Chesson), George Russell, George Moore, and many others. In the eighties the Gaelic Union had been formed, and the *Gaelic Journal* founded, with little effect; but in '93 Father O'Growney, then editor of the *Journal*, with Douglas Hyde, David Comyn, Michael Cusach, and others, founded the Gaelic League.

In '98—a year of omen—the League took a leap forward, and to-day it has over 300 thriving branches in Ireland, and among the English branches one in London with over 3,000 members. The students of the Irish tongue are to be counted to-day, not by the thousand, but the hundred thousand. In one month—December, 1905—the League sold 10,000 of its publications, and its "Simple Lessons" has a circulation of nearly 150,000. Wherever the League is strong the increase of emigration has been checked. "Nationalism" has taken a new aspect. "Irishism" of the conventional melodramatic and music-hall type, till lately popular enough in Ireland, is liable to-day to be hissed off the stage.

### Revival of Industries.

The Irish Industries movement is practically a branch of the League work. It aims both at securing preference for the use of "home-made" manufactures and the improvement of their quality. Its annual exhibition of Irish-made goods in London, starting a few years ago in a very small way, has grown to the great "Aonac" or fair held November 1st to 3rd at the Westminster Horticultural Hall. A permanent London centre for the sale of Irish goods and literature had just previously been opened at 26, Ludgate Hill. The League has several organs, notably *Sinn Féin* (We Ourselves); *The Leader* (Dublin), a weekly review of literature, art, and industries, which has ably engineered the industrial revival; and the *Irish Peasant*.



The most significant features of the movement are that it tends to unite North and South, and that it bases its Nationalism on an enthusiasm for self-development, rather than mere political antagonisms, although it is not less, but, indeed, more nationalist than the Parliamentary party.

### **The New Labour Movement.**

The Labour revival has drawn much inspiration from these other movements, and is equally resolute against either the policy of division between Nationalist sheep and Orange goats, or the regarding of Parliamentaryism as an adequate expression of Irish national feeling.

The earlier Irish Trade Unions died in the famine years. The subsequent agrarian and political agitations then absorbed all energies; but of late years industrial organisation has revived. In 1894 a few active spirits convened the first Trade Union Congress, which at one stride came into line with the English Congress, there and then drawing up its programme for dealing with Employers' Liability, Factory Acts, Housing, Technical Education, Contracts, and such questions. Since then 12 Congresses have been held, attended latterly by 100 or so delegates representing some 80,000 members, and the Committee has had an admirable record of work annually to submit. Constant pressure is brought to bear upon all Irish members, Ministers, and public bodies. The creation of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department owed much to the Committee's recommendations; it has secured the appointment of women factory inspectors, and induced every important public body in Ireland to adopt the Fair Wages Clause. Just now it is agitating for Works Committees in place of contractors. In the Parliamentary party a group has been formed including Messrs. Crean, Field, Nannetti, Sheehan, and Kendal O'Brien, with whom Mr. Sloan, and often Mr. T. W. Russell, are to be found acting on Labour questions.

Mr. Sheehan, the youngest Irish M.P., was successfully nominated by the Labour Party for Mid-Cork vacancy against both the nominee sent down from head-quarters and the official nominee of the local National League branches.

The Congress heartily indorses the Labour Representation movement. In 1905 an amendment directed against such indorsement was based on the plea that "there was no room in Ireland for a Labour Party." Not only was the amendment defeated overwhelmingly, but its mover lost his seat on the Parliamentary Committee, and the seconder and principal supporters, who also stood for election, were defeated.

There are Labour groups on the Dublin Corporation, and in most other towns. At the first council elections, in 1899, Cork returned no fewer than 12 Labour men, several of them defeating official Nationalist League candidates.

Kilkenny Trades Council has now three councillors and two aldermen. They have secured the introduction of a Technical Institute, with two of the Labour members on the Board; also a free library, street lighting by gas instead of lamps, and the erection of two rows of admirable artisans' cottages. Others, to be let at 2s. and 2s. 6d., are being planned. Londonderry Trades Council has recently secured the election of three members.

A list of some of the Irish Trades Councils will be found on page 139. The able secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Committee is Mr. E. L. Richardson, 7, Melrose Avenue, Fairview, Dublin.

The modern Tory policy of agricultural and industrial stimulation, the devolutionist movement, the work of Plunkett and McDonnell, and the growth of the Dunraven and Dudley school of thought, all reflect the new Nationalist movement which is stirring the Irish people. What immediate practical outcome there may be, the year itself alone can show.

## SOME URGENT REFORMS.

**Budget, A Labour.**—See special article, p. 76; see also p. 118.

**Free Meals for School Children.**—The Committee on Physical Deterioration says (126): "A striking consensus of opinion was elicited as to the effects of improper or insufficient food in determining physique, and this factor was acknowledged by every witness to be prominent among the causes to which degenerative tendencies might be assigned." Medical witnesses not only emphasized this point, but also stated that one generation alone of well-fed children could regain a great part of this lost physique, since each generation is given a fair chance by Nature. Two or three generations of well-fed children would bring the whole nation up to the present standard of the youth of the well-to-do classes. At present, between the most favoured class and the poorest class there is at 14 years of age a difference of 4in. in height and 15lbs. in weight, due almost entirely to insufficient nourishment in the growing stages. Many doctors aver that it is sheer cruelty to attempt to teach a badly-fed child, and point out that the children, in times of distress especially, had better be allowed to run the streets.

In London alone 120,000 children attending elementary schools are seriously underfed. In every great centre a similar condition of things prevails. On the Continent this evil has already led to State or municipal grants being made for free meals for the school children of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Brussels, Antwerp, Copenhagen, Rome, Madrid, Zurich, and other leading cities, whilst not only municipal funds but municipal organisation are undertaken in Paris and other French and Italian cities. In Paris in 1904 8,000,000 meals were supplied at a cost of 2½d. per meal. The total cost was £75,000, of which £20,000 was repaid by parents. These latter had the satisfaction of knowing that their money went a great deal further in nourishing the children than it would have if laid out by themselves.

The richest country in the world should not fall behind Switzerland or Italy in seeing that its children are not allowed to suffer semi-starvation, whether through the faults or the misfortunes of their parents. We take the children away by force from the streets, parks, and playgrounds, in order that we may compel them to learn, and it is only rational that we should see that they are in such a physical condition as to benefit by their teaching. Food for the body comes before food for the soul.

**Government Reform.**—The Government of the country needs to be democratised. At present the Government is not selected by the people, and is not responsible to the people. The Members of Parliament have a real control over the Government in matters of legislation, but in matters of administration they have hardly any control at all, and the only choice open to electors at elections is between two administrations, which may be, from the electors' point of view, equally undesirable. This is the reason why, on such matters as Chinese Labour in the Transvaal and the position of public employes, the wish of the democracy has not been carried out. What is necessary is a complete change in the system by which the departments are controlled. At present a single minister, with no previous knowledge of the inner workings of his department, is pitchforked into a position of unique control, with no help except that of the permanent officials, on whose advice he is bound to lean almost implicitly. They will be naturally conservative and opposed to reform, and he will be almost entirely in their hands. Instead of this relic of feudal days, the control of departments should be placed in the hands of councils or committees, composed of Members of the House of Commons. The minister would still be the executive officer, but he would have the advice, the assistance, and, to some extent, the control of this committee. This would lead to greater efficiency, greater control of permanent officials, and would make it possible to select real talent for Government appointments, but the principal advantage would be that for the first time in the history of this country the administration of the Government would be placed on a really democratic basis.

**Graduated Income-tax.**—The Government are undoubtedly moving in this direction. To Socialists the proposal is not so much desired for the purpose of adjusting the burden between the small income-tax payers and the large, but for the direct object of obtaining a far larger revenue from the tax than at present, to be used for the purposes of social reform. In considering the best method of carrying out the graduation, it should be remembered that at present the tax of 1s. in the £ is levied upon the income at its various sources before it reaches the recipient, and that it is only in exceptional cases (principally for those whose income is below £700 a year) that a full return showing total income is obtained from the payer.

For this and other practical reasons the most obvious means of graduation, viz., the direct one of imposing a higher rate in the £ for each succeeding thousand, is not the one most to be recommended. Instead, the following proposal has the sanction of Keir Hardie:—

(1) Tax income derived from investments, land, and property of all sorts at 1s. 6d. in the £, while retaining 1s. in the £ for incomes derived from personal exertion. (This additional burden to be subject to certain abatements for incomes below £1,000 a year.)

(2) Commencing with incomes above £5,000 a year, adopt a plan of direct graduation according to the scale below. The new tax to be levied directly on the recipient of income, in addition to the ordinary tax levied at the source.

Income.	Present Income Tax.	PROPOSED	
		Taxes levied at the source.	Additional taxes levied direct.
From £1,000 to £2,000	One Shilling in the Pound levied at the source.	One Shilling in the Pound on earned incomes, 1s. 6d. in the £ on unearned incomes.	....
" £2,000 " £3,000			....
" £3,000 " £4,000			....
" £4,000 " £5,000			....
" £5,000 " £6,000			$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
" £6,000 " £8,000			1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" £8,000 " £10,000			2 "
" £10,000 " £12,000			2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" £12,000 " £16,000			3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" £16,000 " £20,000			4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" £20,000 " £24,000			5 "
" £24,000 " £28,000			5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" £28,000 " £32,000			6 "
" £32,000 " £36,000			6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" £36,000 " £40,000			7 "

For incomes over £40,000, the additional tax would rise  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for every additional £10,000 of income, until out of a gross income of £800,000 or over the possessor would retain about £380,000 a year. The State taking all further income to itself.

It may be taken as roughly correct that the additional revenue obtained from these changes would be £16,000,000.

**London County Council Reform.**—See special article, p. 92.

**Mining Royalties.**—See special article, p. 108.

**Municipal Coal.**—The need for this reform is great, and the difficulties are fewer than in most of the services already undertaken by municipalities. The need is great, not only because all industries, large and small, depend so much upon coal, but because the working-classes as a whole, and the poorest class in particular, pay inordinately high prices for their domestic fuel.

Firstly, the council should be the authority for local supply. Thus the coal would come in its own trucks to its chief depot, and thence be distributed on an organised system at considerably less both for small

manufacturers and domestic consumers than is the case with the present wasteful and unorganised system of retailing. A more uniform price could be fixed for all classes, and over all periods of the year, so that the smallest consumers received their coal at bare cost price during the cold weather. The distribution of coal would be infinitely simpler than that of gas or water or postal packets. Indeed, the councils are already great consumers of coal, which they use for gas and electricity works, and for their many offices, schools, caretakers' houses, &c. There are in the kingdom 265 municipal gasworks, 350 municipal electricity works, and 33,000 elementary schools.

Secondly, the production could be undertaken, with great gain. There is £120,000,000 capital in coal mines, and an annual production of 240,000,000 tons, valued at £82,000,000. An army of 850,000 persons is employed in and about the mines. At present the owners refuse to accept a wage clause in their contracts, an added reason for production by public bodies. In 1900 the owners admitted to making no less than £34,000,000 above their usual profits, which are more than high enough. The town councils in that year had to pay from 4s. to 5s. per ton extra for their coal. The Bradford Gas Committee found that it paid an extra amount of over £40,000, equal to a rate of about 8d. in the £ on the city.

**Municipal Milk Supply.**—A pure and cheap milk supply is important for everyone, but above all for infants now that artificial feeding is usual, especially in factory districts. The Physical Deterioration Committee's Report (p. 52) says that evidence showed it to be "next to impossible" to ensure a good milk supply, especially to the poorer classes. The evidence of a number of hospital managers, medical officers, and other medical men, showed that farm dairies were often in filthy conditions, cowsheds overcrowded, unventilated, undrained, and no guarantee that cows were healthy (par. 271-276). Dr. Newman, Finsbury medical officer, said that of milk examined by him in 1903 there was 32 per cent. contained diseased matter and 40 per cent. contained dirt. Epidemics of typhoid, scarlet fever, and diphtheria are frequently traced to the milk supply. It is also one of the most common agents of spreading tuberculosis.

Not only is milk commonly dirty and poisoned by boric acid, formalin, and other preservatives, but it is adulterated by water to an alarming extent. A special examination in Clerkenwell during summer months resulted in 47 per cent. of adulterated samples, one of which had 90 per cent. of the nutritive qualities removed, and an extra 23 per cent. of water added. It is little wonder that the death rate among artificially-fed infants is immensely higher than among those breast-fed. Dr. Hope (Liverpool) found in 1903 that for every breast-fed infant of under six months who died of diarrhoea there were 22 artificially fed.

Battersea, Liverpool, St. Helens, and other towns already undertake the supply of sterilised milk in sealed bottles, with the result in each case of a heavy fall in the infant death rate. All attempts at inspection are a source of great expense, and have small results. If a supply of pure and cheap milk is ever to be ensured it can only be by the local authorities carrying on, and distributing from their own dairy farms and depôts.

**National Railways.**—There are nearly 4,000 miles of railway in the Kingdom, the greater part of which is owned or controlled by a dozen great companies, who moreover have standing conferences, through which they exercise a virtual monopoly against the public, although they have all the expenses of competing concerns. The public bears the costs and inconveniences of competition without many of its benefits. The total capital of the companies is £1,300,000,000, of which £200,000,000 is nominal or "watered" stock. A very large part of the rest was for extravagant sums paid to great landowners for their land and another large part for legal expenses. On this huge capital a sum of £44,000,000 has to be earned in dividends. If the State bought out the railways, it could borrow this necessary sum for at least £5,000,000 to £8,000,000 a year less

than this, and at once effect enormous savings by getting rid of the unnecessary expenses resulting from the present competitive and chaotic methods of the companies. Despite the virtual monopoly, there are over 3,000 railway directors drawing fees or salaries amounting to nearly £1,500,000. Of the principal of these there are 80 in the Lords and 25 in the Commons. Mr. Gladstone predicted that if the State did not control the railway companies, they would soon control the State, and this has come to pass. Their servants are overworked and underpaid, extortionate freights are charged on the carriage of goods, unfair preferences are given, but Parliament is powerless to check this. One of the best-appointed train services in the world, the trans-European mail express, is already run by the British Post-office. The railways of India, which yield a great portion of our Indian revenue, are owned by the Indian Government. The well-managed and prosperous systems of Australasia, with the best conditions of labour and the lowest freights of any railways in the world, are State owned. Why, then, should not the British Government own and control in the public interest the systems which are so wastefully and inefficiently managed by the present companies?

**Old Age Pensions.**—In England and Wales there are about 1,600,000 persons over 65 years of age. During the year more than a quarter of these are driven to the receipt of poor relief. In times of distress the proportion is higher, as the aged worker is the first to be discharged.

The average wage being less than 25s. per week, the hopelessness of providing personally for old age is manifest. The majority of workmen, if they went without beer, tobacco, holidays, or recreation, and were never sick or unemployed, could not save in 40 years of work more than enough to produce 3s. to 4s. per week pension. The better-paid men belong to trade unions, which have superannuation benefits, or to friendly societies, or both; but these, of course, are the minority, about eight out of 12 trade unionists being in societies that have no such benefit. Even on these few unions the strain is great. In the Amalgamated Society of Engineers the proportion on superannuation rose in 50 years from one per thousand to 45 per thousand. Ten years ago the great friendly societies had to begin revising their financial schemes, as, owing to the alarming growth of annuitants the Registrar's actuaries warned them that they were heading for insolvency. In 1897 the Registrar stated that if their funds were capitalised there was a total insolvency of £9,000,000, the "insolvency" of the Oddfellows, from an actuary's point of view, being equal to 6s. in the £. These financial dangers were due solely to the brave and praiseworthy attempts of the friendly societies to save their aged members from resort to poor-law relief. Yet for every one so helped there are 20 driven to the poor law, and as many again who struggle on in semi-starvation and wretchedness until poverty-bred disease ends their days.

Mr. Asquith in February, 1906, told the House of Commons that a pension of 5s. per week for every person over 65 would cost £26,000,000. The national income is £1,800,000,000, of which landlordism alone takes £350,000,000 in land rents and house profits. Railway shareholders alone take over £44,000,000 in dividends. So long as the bulk of the national income is taken away for rent, interest, and profits, those funds rightly should be drawn upon for the pensions of the aged workers. If all workers over 60 received a pension of 10s. per week raised from taxes on rent, profit, &c., it would still leave the proprietary classes with nearly £900,000,000 out of the £1,000,000,000 they now draw. The late Mr. C. P. Villiers was for 12 years a minister with a large salary, but drew altogether over £30,000 in pensions after his retirement. Lord Cross, retiring after seven years' well-paid work, has since drawn nearly £30,000 in pension. Two ex-Speakers, six ex-ministers, and seven military men draw nearly £45,000 a year between them in pensions. Is there any reason why the aged worker, whose wage has ranged from 14s. to 37s. per week, should not also be pensioned after a life's work?

**Patent Law Reform.**—See special article, p. 113.

**Payment of M.P.'s.**—The time has come when Members of Parliament will have to receive payment for their services in the House of Commons, because the people have realised that they cannot be adequately represented only by men of wealth and position who are able to pay their own expenses. The following table compiled by Sir Edward Grey, supplied him by other countries, shows how far the practice has already been adopted elsewhere:—

Country.	Salary.	Other Advantages.
Austria .....	16s. 8d. a day during session.	Travelling allowances.
Hungary .....	£200	£66 house rent. Reduced railway fares.
Bavaria .....	10s. a day during session.	Free railway travel.
Belgium .....	£180	Free railway travel.
Bulgaria .....	16s. a day during session.	One free journey.
Denmark .....	11s. a day during session (reduced to 6s. 8d. if more than six months).	Free railway travel.
France .....	£360	Free travel on State railways. Nominal fee of 8s. per month on private lines.
Germany .....	£150.	Free railway passes.
Prussia .....	15s. a day during session.	Free railway travel.
Greece .....	£72.	Free travel.
Italy .....	None.	Free travel.
Netherlands .....	£166.	One free journey.
Norway .....	13s. a day during session.	One free journey. Medical attendance. Funeral expenses.
Portugal .....	None.	Free railway travel.
Roumania .....	20s. a day during session.	Free travel.
Russia .....	21s. a day during session.	One free journey.
Servia .....	12s. a day during session.	One free journey.
Spain .....	None.	Cheap railway tickets.
Sweden .....	£66.	One free journey.
Switzerland .....	16s. a day during session.	One free journey.
United States .....	£1,000.	£25 for stationery. One free journey. Free seed for distribution.

As a general rule Members of the Upper Houses are not paid, but notable exceptions are France, Russia, and the United States. Senators in France and the United States are on exactly the same footing in this matter as the Deputies or Congressmen, while in Russia a seat in the Upper House carries with it a salary of £2. 12s. 9d. a day, or more than double the sum received by a member of the Duma.

**Poor-law Reform.**—The only way in which to reform the Poor Law is to abolish it. At present it is a separate department of government. It is subject to specially minute control by the Local Government Board, which issues ukases with the binding force of law. It is administered by specially-elected boards of guardians. Its subjects are called paupers, and are deprived of the rights of citizenship whether they are veterans of labour or incorrigible rogues. This rubbish should be swept away. It is out of date, irrational, and unpopular. It pleases neither the well-to-do, who pay the piper, nor the paupers, who dance to the dismal

tune. The pressing need is for a new classification. The aged, sick, and the children, victims of accident or of a wrong system of distribution, should be cared for, not under a special Poor Law, but as part of the regular duty of the people's representatives. All legal qualifications by poor relief must go. Old-age pensions will provide for some; grouped almshouses for others. The children must be educated, and fitted to take their part in the industrial life of the nation. The sick must be properly cared for. On the other hand, the idle, the wasteful, the unemployable must be dealt with in farm colonies, and by such other means as will give them some chance of becoming decent citizens.

These wide-reaching reforms can be obtained only by abolishing the boards of guardians with their old-fashioned notions, their fossilised routine, their traditions of doling out insufficient relief, and of making workhouses more hateful than prisons. The control of indoor relief must be given to the counties and county boroughs; and out relief under adequate rules should be the business of district councils and small boroughs.

**Right to Work.**—Everyone should have a legal right to an opportunity of earning his living in the society in which he has been born, but no one should or could have the right to ask that he shall be employed at the particular job which suits his peculiar taste and temperament. There are slums to clear, houses to build, land to redeem, and waste places to afforest. To get this work done there is need of armies of workers, engaged not temporarily to tide over a depression, but permanently to complete an undertaking, the amount undertaken swelling or diminishing each year according to the state of trade. These armies must consist, not of society's failures, paid less than a fair wage, but of men capable of earning a high one. Other workers would then naturally be drawn into municipal manufacturing departments to provide their fellows with all the needs of decent life, and thus not only should we provide employment for numbers to whom the ordinary relief works can bring no relief, but we should strike a deadly blow at the sweater. To guard, by these methods, against unemployment is the beginning of the national organisation of labour and of the end of the capitalist system. The first step towards the realisation of this proposal is the provision of funds to enable the municipalities to carry them out, and by proper administrative provisions to ensure that the administrators neither muddle nor neglect their business.

**Second Ballot.**—France, Belgium, Germany, and most other European countries have a system of second ballot, by which, if the candidate heading the poll has not a majority above all the others combined, there must be a second ballot between the leading candidates, so that no member may be elected who does not represent an actual majority of voters. This seems so reasonable that it would be a matter for wonder that we have no such system in this country were it not that so many of our political institutions fall short of the dictates of reason.

The old two-party system having broken up, three-cornered contests are likely to be more frequent in the future. Thus at the General Election of 1906 the Liberals won Greenwich and King's Lynn, which they would almost certainly not have done but for there being two Unionist candidates, whilst the Unionists won Croydon, Camlachie, Govan, Lanark, N.W., Ayrshire, N., and several other seats which they could not have done in a straight fight either against a Labour man or a Liberal. In the same way the Nationalists won West Belfast.

No matter which party may lose or win, it is only just that the majority of the electors should be represented, and this cannot be assured unless there is provision for a Second Ballot whenever that be necessary.

**Temperance.**—See special articles, pp. 196-202.

**Unemployed.**—See p. 142; see also Right to Work.

**Women's Enfranchisement.**—See special articles, pp. 145-168.

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**A. H. GILL, M.P.,**

Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and  
President-elect of the Congress for 1907, to be held at  
Bath in the first week of September.

# STATUS OF LABOUR.

By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

## TRADE UNION CONGRESS, 1906.

THE Thirty-ninth Annual Congress of Trade Unions was held September 3rd to 8th, at Liverpool. It was the largest yet held, the number of delegates present reaching 491 as against 458 last year; while the aggregate membership represented was 1,554,000 as against 1,562,000. It was also noteworthy that no less than 30 of the delegates were members of Parliament, despite the Congress rules which require delegates to be either working at their trade or officials of their societies. These rules disqualify many Labour leaders, such as John Burns and Keir Hardie.

The questions which evoked the largest amount of discussion were (a) Ben Brett's motion for industrial arbitration, which was in the end defeated by a larger majority than last year; (b) the establishment of a minimum wage of 8s. in Government workshops in the London district, on which Congress and itself directly at issue with its own Parliamentary Committee. Other important questions in new directions were the motions in favour of international arbitration, political unity on strict independent lines, and the nationalisation of natural resources.

### September 3rd.

The opening day of the Congress was given over, as is usually the case, to an official welcome, to the election of certain Congress committees, and to a picnic in the afternoon. A resolution was also carried expressing hearty sympathy with the Russian people in their struggle for political and industrial freedom.

### September 4th.

The real business began on Tuesday with the speech of the President for the year, who, after congratulating the Congress upon the success of Labour in the polls, said there was a great deal, however, still to do—unemployment, clothing of the children, old age pensions, land reform, and many other questions were urgent, and Labour must not relax its efforts. He asked that the ranks could be closed up, and that the men should fight in the self-sacrificing spirit the old pioneers, using both the right hand of Trade Unionism and the other political representation in the common cause.

### The Parliamentary Committee's Report.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee dealt with the work of the year. Among the principal subjects were the following:—

1. The General Election.
2. The Trades Disputes Bill.
3. The Unemployed.
4. Workmen's Compensation, and Compulsory State Insurance.
5. The Miners' Eight Hours Day.
6. Home Office Regulations and Government Contracts.
7. Deputations to the Secretary for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty.
8. Physical Deterioration.
9. Denaby Main Strike.
10. Ward, Lock, & Co., and the Printers.
11. Dispute between the Coachmakers and the Carpenters.
12. Deputations to Ministers.
13. List of Congress Bills introduced into Parliament.
14. Various Delegations.
15. Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators.

In the concluding remarks, the Parliamentary Committee said: "We must no longer be content to fight for a living wage, which is measured by the iron-bound law of supply and demand. We want something even beyond. The demand should be for a higher standard of living—something that will enable us to educate our families, to participate in art, literature, music, and all the good things that help to make life bright, happy, and comfortable."

There was a short discussion, but the report was carried without amendment.

## THE AGENDA.

### A Labour Newspaper.

The first resolution on the agenda to be taken was:—

*Labour Newspaper.*—Instructing the Parliamentary Committee to confer with the representatives of the general federation and the Labour Party with a view to the issuing of a monthly journal to be the official organ of the three organisations.

Carried by card vote, 561,000 to 357,000. Several resolutions were then carried without opposition, including the following:—

*The Blind.*—Urging the Government to make proper provision for the maintenance of the blind.

*Co-operation.*—Calling for a conference with co-operators to urge upon them to only deal with firms working under "fair" conditions.

*May Day Celebration.*—Calling upon all organised workers to demonstrate on May Day for a legal eight-hour day.

*Port Sanitary Inspection.*—Asking the Government to insist upon proper sanitary inspection of all barges on the Thames.

*Aliens Bill and the House of Lords.*—Protesting against the action of the Lords in rejecting O'Grady's Aliens Bill, and calling for the abolition of their power of veto.

*Trade Union Label.*—Calling for its adoption.

A more contentious matter was raised by James Sexton on a resolution calling for

*Consolidation of Labour Forces.*—(1) That the various sections of the Labour movement have their offices in the one building, so as to be in close communication with each other. (2) That a conference of representatives of the sections in the Labour movement be called, with the object of securing perfect political unity of action in the country and the House of Commons on strict independent lines, and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to endeavour to convene such conference.

In the course of his speech, he said that the Trade Union Group ought to make up their minds to repudiate men like Fred Maddison, who went to Cocker-mouth and opposed the Trade Unionist candidate. The resolution, including the important clause, "on strict independent lines," was carried, 756,000 to 543,000.

After lunch resolutions were carried dealing with (1) Reform of the Land Laws, (2) Wages in Government dockyards, (3) Parliamentary Procedure ("the slaughter of the innocents"), (4) Bill relating to the dismissal of men because they are Trade Unionists.

### Industrial Arbitration.

Then came on Ben Tillett's resolution relating to Industrial Arbitration. He asked for a Bill that should

Provide (1) a court with authority to enforce a contract law making inviolate all union funds; and also determine a minimum wage; (2) form industrial boards of conciliation and arbitration in all large industrial centres; these courts to be constituted by an equal number of workmen and employers' representatives, the former to be selected under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee from affiliated membership of the Congress.

The resolution further proposed that,

The court shall confine its operations to the affiliated membership of the Congress, and shall be divided in two sections, defining (a) voluntary conciliation and arbitration, (b) compulsory arbitration. Option to be left to unions to register under either section.

It was supported by Margaret Bondfield, and opposed by Brace, John Ward, and others, and when the vote was taken it was lost by 938,000 to 541,000, a more adverse result than last year.

Congress then carried resolutions (1) protecting Friendly Societies from hasty conversion into limited companies, (2) sympathising with the Halifax tramway workers in their dispute with the Corporation, (3) soliciting assistance for Russian peasants. It then adjourned for the day.

### September 5th.

#### The Trades Disputes Bill.

On reassembling on the Wednesday, David J. Shackleton, M.P., then moved, on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee :—

That this Congress reaffirms the decision of previous congresses—That no Trades Disputes Bill will be satisfactory which does not secure what was understood as the ante-Taff Vale position on the basis of the complete immunity of the funds of trade unions from litigation, and that the Parliamentary Committee convene a meeting of the whole of the Labour members previous to the autumn session to consider the Bill as amended in committee.

The resolution was seconded by Alexander Wilkie, supported by Richard Bell, and carried with acclamation.

The President then read a message inviting a member of Congress to accompany a British Delegation to Russia at the end of September to present a memorial to the Russian Duma. It was agreed that the president (Cummings) and the secretary (Steadman) be appointed.

#### Steam Engines, Factories, Mines.

The resolutions relating to steam engines, boilers, and railways were then proposed and carried. They declared in favour of :—

- (1) A certificate of competency being required from all persons in charge of steam-engines and boilers.
- (2) Making it a criminal offence for a company to allow any person to drive a locomotive engine upon any railway over any portion of the road he is not thoroughly conversant with.
- (3) Compelling railway companies always to have two men in charge in the motor-house, or on the footplate of all locomotive engines working railway trains, as it is absolutely necessary to the public safety and the railway servants.

A resolution in four clauses was then carried dealing with the required factory legislation. The principal points were :—

Textile factories to be closed from Saturday noon to 6 a.m. Monday.

Adequate numbers and qualification of factory inspectors.

The abolition of "time cribbing," giving the power of enforcement to the police.

Provision for proper accommodation for work to be done in the factories in the tailoring industry.

Other resolutions dealt with housing, workmen's cheap railway tickets, representation of Trade Unions at coroners' inquests, compulsory weighing in the iron and steel trades, and an eight hours day. They were all carried without opposition, and the Congress adjourned for lunch.

#### Miners' Eight Hours.

In the afternoon several regulations regarding mines were considered. The first was the legal eight-hours' day, moved by W. Whitefield (Bristol Miners).

In previous Congresses this has met with opposition from the Northumberland and Durham men; this year however, owing to the Northumberland ballot in favour of the Bill, the resolution was carried without a dissentient voice—the Durham miners having agreed to abstain from voting.

### Evictions.

The next subject had reference to the Hemsworth struggle.

*Evictions.*—Instructing the Parliamentary Committee to prepare a Bill preventing employers from evicting their workers from their houses during trade disputes.

The remainder of the afternoon was taken up by the speeches of the visiting delegations, F. K. Foster (Typographical Society), and James Wilson (Pattern-makers), representing America; Arthur Henderson, M.P., the Labour Party; Isaac Mitchell, the Federation of Trades, and James Johnston, the Co-operative Union.

### September 6th.

#### Pensions, International Arbitration, Government Employees.

The first business on Thursday was a resolution moved by George Barnes, M.P., and carried unanimously, demanding

*Old Age Pensions.*—A national system of old-age pensions, which shall be universal in its application to all citizens, men and women, on attaining the age of 60 years, the pension to be at the rate of at least 5s. per week, and the entire cost of such scheme to be contributed by means of Imperial taxation.

The next was one in favour of arbitration and disarmament, and protesting against the introduction of conscription, or any form of compulsory military training into this country; it was moved by John Ward, and carried without opposition. It was followed by one dealing with postal grievances, and asking for the reinstatement of W. B. Cheesman.

Important questions relating to wages were then considered. The first required that the words "Trade Union rate" be substituted for "current rate" in public contracts; the second demanded a legal minimum wage all over the country in order to effectively deal with "sweating."

The third, which gave rise to considerable discussion, related to the fixing of 30s. as the minimum rate of wages to be paid by the Government to their employes. The resolution having been amended so as to apply to the London district only, read as follows:—

That this Trade Union Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to get a direct resolution moved in the next session of Parliament, or at the earliest possible date, on army, postal, or other estimates, or by ballot, calling upon the Government to pay to all workmen employed direct, or by Government contract, a minimum wage of 30s. per week of 48 hours in the London district, and the payment of the recognised trade union rates of wages to all trades on any Government work.

David Shackleton, on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee, called upon Congress not to pass the resolution, on the ground that it passed the limit of what was practical. The Trade Union rate should be substituted. Cheesman, J. H. Matthews, and others, however, supported the resolution, which was put to a card vote, and carried by 698,000 against 230,000.

Other resolutions carried were in favour of 36s. a week in the "danger building" of Woolwich Arsenal, and fair wages in all municipalities.

A resolution was also carried urging the Government to become their own printers, and another calling for various special regulations in mines.

## September 7th.

## Miscellaneous Resolutions.

The first resolution taken on Friday, September 7th, was one in favour of the Nationalisation of National Resources.

Congress then turned its attention to its own standing orders. A resolution that Congress and not the Parliamentary Committee should elect the Chairman was defeated, but a resolution in favour of increasing the Committee to 16 was agreed to. A resolution to increase the salary of the secretary by £100 was lost. A further resolution making "bargaining for votes" a fit reason for expulsion from Congress was carried.

Congress then returned to general questions, and passed resolutions in favour of the abolition of systematic overtime, and making "character notes" for discharged workmen compulsory upon employers.

The separation between municipal employes and those in private employ led to an interesting debate on a resolution deprecating such division as contrary to the best interests of Trade Unionism. An amendment defending the existence of the Municipal Employes' Association having been defeated on a card vote by 1,196,000 to 40,000, the original resolution was then carried with acclamation.

A scene then occurred in which Robert Smillie, who wished to raise the question of the Hemsworth Colliery, in spite of the ruling of the Chair, was named, and had to withdraw from the Congress.

One or two other matters having been discussed the question of the place for next year's Congress was voted upon. Bath and Portsmouth were proposed, and Bath was selected, the voting being Bath 196, Portsmouth 130.

## September 8th.

Saturday saw the election of the Parliamentary Committee, not increased to 16 members until next year. The figures were:—

## ELECTED.

D. J. Shackleton (Weavers) .. ..	1,226
D. C. Cummings (Boilermakers) ..	1,105
A. H. Gill (Cotton Spinners) .. ..	991
G. N. Barnes (Engineers) .. .. .	961
R. Bell (Railway Servants) .. .. .	954
C. W. Bowerman (Lond. Compositors)	930
Alex. Wilkie (Shipwrights) .. .. .	917
W. Thorne (Gasworkers) .. .. .	909
J. Haslam (Miners' Federation) ..	858
W. B. Hornridge (Boot and Shoe)	836
W. J. Davis (Brassworkers) .. .. .	811
F. Chandler (Carpenters) .. .. .	702

## NOT ELECTED.

J. Ward (Navvies) .. .. .	604
J. Sexton (Dock Labourers) .. ..	577
Miss Bondfield (Shop Assistants)	475
A. Fox (Loco. Engineers) .. .. .	191
E. E. Burns (Plumbers) .. .. .	153
J. Wignall (Dock Workers) .. .. .	111
T. A. Flynn (Tailors) .. .. .	102
J. Hayhurst (Bleachers and Dyers)	83
W. B. Cheesman (Fawcett Ass.)	73
J. Green (York Enginemen) .. ..	51
S. March (London Carmen) .. ..	45

W. C. Steadman was re-elected secretary; Shackleton and J. N. Bell were appointed to the American delagation; and J. Hodge to the Co-operative delagation.

An important resolution was then carried reaffirming the position of the Congress on the question of Education, and the Congress then adjourned.

At a subsequent meeting of the Parliamentary Committee, A. H. Gill was elected chairman, and he will accordingly be president of the Congress next year. A portrait appears on page 124 and biography on page 26,

# PRINCIPAL TRADE UNIONS IN 1906.

Below are given some Principal Trade Unions of the country, together with the latest available returns of Membership, Amount of Accumulated Funds, and the address of the Secretary.

Title of Organisation.	No. of Mem's.	Accum'ted Funds.	Secretary and Office Address.
Assurance Agents, National Union of Life.....	2,500	£4,000	J. U. Chester, 215, Maria Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Bakers, Amalgamated Union of Operative (U.K.).....	3,000	£20,000	H. Emery, 16, Fiddenswick Road, Hammersmith, W.
Blanciers, Twisters, and Drawers .....	9,128	£2,400	W. Robinson, 12, Benfield Street, Heywood.
Blacksmiths, National Federation .....	14,500	£2,400	P. W. Hals, Moss Bay, Workington.
Bleachers, Dyers, and Linen Drapers National Fed. ....	50,884	£331,226	A. Heaton, Alton, Bradford.
Boatmakers and Iron Ship Builders .....	4,200	£3,000	D. C. Cummings, Lifford House, Ealingdon Road, Newcastle.
Bookbinders, London, Cont. Builders .....	4,200	£3,000	William Conley, 1, Gough Square, Fleet Street, E.C.
Bookbinding and Machine Rulers, Unis. Union .....	4,200	£3,000	James Kelly, 37, St. Barnabas Road, Sheffield.
Boot and Shoe Machine Rulers, Unis. Union .....	25,708	£38,000	Wm. J. Horridge, Trades Hall, St. James Street, Leicester.
Brassworkers, National Amalgamated Society .....	7,000	£31,000	W. J. Davis, J. F. 10, Lionel St. Park, Birmingham.
Bricklayers' Operative Society .....	82,830	£104,357	John Bachelard, 4, Salford Park Road, S.E.
Bruah Makers, United Society .....	1,350	£2,470	S. G. Porter, 40, St. Saviour's Rd., N.E.
Builders' Labourers, United Union .....	4,471	£2,000	D. Haggerty, 105, Blackfriars Rd., London, S.E.
Butchers, Federation of Journeymen .....	81	£1,688	O. Hill, 39, George's Rd., B. London, S.E.
Car Drivers' Union (London) .....	3,468	£11,000	F. Hill, 39, George's Rd., B. London, S.E.
Card and Blowing &c. Op. Assoc. (Bolton District) ..	6,801	£11,000	Joseph Edg., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalg. Assoc. ....	30,000	£11,000	W. Mullin, 21, Hodson's Gate, Corporation Street, Manchester.
Card and Blowing Room (Oldham) .....	12,540	£11,000	M. Conolly, 108, Union Street, Oldham.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society .....	68,000	£12,000	F. Chandler, 95, Burnswick Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester.
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of Operative ..	6,000	£12,000	W. Martin, J. P., 65, Kington Oval, S.E.
Carmen's Trade Union (London) .....	6,182	£2,430	S. March, 54, Minorca, London, E.C.
Carmen's United Association of England .....	1,000		A. Artia, 82, Grosvenor Street, Downing Street, Manchester.
Carters and Lorrymen's Amalgamated Union .....	3,502		J. Part, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association .....	2,000	£1,977	Ben Cooper, 60, Exmouth Street, Stepney, E.
Cochmen's, United Kingdom Society .....	8,087	£25,204	J. G. Waldron, 118, Portland Street, Manchester.
Cockmen's and Labourers' Association (Durham) .....	3,776	£5,302	J. Ong, 12, The Avenue, Durham.
Colliery Enginemen's Assoc. (Durham County) .....	2,500	£13,500	W. B. Charlton, 36, Western Hill, Durham.
Colliery Enginemen, &c. (Mon. and S. Wales) .....	6,440	£9,500	W. Wootnam, 105, New Road, Pontypool.
Colliery Mechanics (Durham) .....	3,200	£11,500	J. W. Taylor, M. P., The Avenue, Durham.
Compositors, London Society .....	11,500	£265,000	C. W. Bowerman, M. P., 7-9, St. Bride Street, E.C.
Co-operative Employés, Amalgamated Union .....	14,000	£22,000	A. Hewitt, Co-operative News Building, Long Millgate, Manchester.
Coopers of Great Britain, Association .....	5,000		J. Carroll, 3, Church Street, Westminster Road, Liverpool.
Dock Labourers, National Union (United Kingdom) ..	12,028		B. Tillott, 123, Mile End Road, E.
Dock, Wharf, &c., and General Workers' Union.....		£7,250	

Title of Organisation.	Mem's.	Funds.	Secretary and Office Address.
Dyers and Finishers, National Society .....	1,830	£6,500	A. Heaton, Allerton, Bradford.
Electrical Trades Union .....	1,250	£1,050	Alfred River, Club Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
Engineers' Protection Association .....	5,000		C. Hease, 19, Mendip View, Radstock, Bath.
Engineers, Amalgamated Society .....	108,500	£700,000	G. N. Barnes, M.P. 110, Peckham Road, S.E.
Engineers, National Amalg. Union of Great Britain ..	5,174	£7,748	G. Parker, 39, High Street, Rotherham.
Engine, Crane, Boilermen, &c., National Amal. ....	3,877	£4,903	T. Dobson, 15, Parliament Street, Stockton-on-Tees.
Farriers, Amalgamated Society .....	2,869		W. H. Briggs, 282, Bury New Road, Manchester.
Fawcett Association .....	5,000	£1,000	W. B. Cheesman, 55, Doughty Street, W.C.
Felt Hatters, Amalgamated Society .....	3,266	£21,305	T. Mallieu, 113, Manchester Road, Denton, Manchester.
Flaxdressers' Trade Union (Helfast) .....	1,000	£1,734	A. S. Mappin, 96, Springvale Road, Sheffield.
Flint Glass Makers, National Society .....	1,170	£4,333	Robt. Gageley, Engineers' Hall, Belfast.
French Polishers, Amalgamated Society .....	900	Not Stated	Albt. A. Purcell, 24, Fenton Street, Brierley Hill, Staffs.
Furnishing Trades Association, National Amal. ....	1,000		E. Rudd, 34, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.
Gasworkers' Brickmakers, &c., Am. Soc. (Birmingham)	5,910	£8,169	Alex. Gossip, 72, Finbury Pavement, E.C.
Gas Workers and General Labourers, National Union ..	3,800	£4,100	R. Toller, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Birmingham.
Glass Bottle Makers' Socy. Un. Tr. Prot. Soc. (Yorks) ..	30,000		W. Thorne, M.P. 172, Pentonville Road, King's Cross, N.
Hosiery Federation, National .....	2,800	£24,749	A. Greenwood, 2, Wesley Street, Castleford.
Ironfounders' Friendly Society (Great Britain) .....	2,890		J. Holmes, Exchange Buildings, Leicester.
Iron Moulders, Associated (Scotland) .....	19,115		J. Maddison, 164, Chorlton Road, Brooks Bar, Manchester.
Iron and Steel Workers, Associated (United Kingdom) ..	7,967	£35,202	J. M. Jack, 221, W. George Street, Glasgow.
Labour, National Amalgamated Union .....	6,500	£10,000	J. Cox, 6, Mount Pleasant, Darlington.
Labourers' Union of Great Britain .....	3,226		J. N. Bell, 4, Higham Place, Newcastle.
Labour Protection League .....	1,174	£1,400	H. W. Williams, 29, Rutland Street, Swansea.
Lace Makers, Amalgamated (British) .....	3,500	£3,500	Tom Fox, 44, Grosvenor Street, Manchester.
Lace-makers (Long Eaton & District) .....	3,200	£45,479	Arthur Harris, 96, Neptune Street, Rotherhithe, E.
Leather Workers, Amalgamated Society .....	1,319	£6,521	Wm. A. Appleton, Pembroke Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.
Litho Artists, Designers, Engravers, Am. Society .....	14,000	£138,000	S. Truman, Oakley's Road, Long Eaton, Nottingham.
Locomotive Engine and Firemen, Associated Society ..	4,500	£11,000	E. J. Lapping, 9, Moorland Place, Hyde Park Road, Leeds.
Machine Workers, Associated Union .....	1,000		Robert Barnes, 20, Cooper Street, Manchester.
Metal Wire and Tube Workers, National Society .....	60,000		M. Arandale, 212, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
Metal Trades Federation of Great Britain .....	1,500		W. F. Davis, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.
Midland Counties' Federation .....	827,000	£3,000	Chas. Hobson, 3, Alpine Road, Sheffield.
Miners' Federation (Great Britain) .....	4,580	£27,208	J. Taylor, 68, Vicar Street, Dudley.
Miners' Federal Union (Ayrshire) .....	2,300	£6,450	T. Asker, 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.
Miners' Association (Bristol) .....	6,688	Not Stated	Peter Muir, James Street, Dalry.
Miners' and Quarrymen's Association (Cleveland) .....			W. Whitfield, St. George's, Bristol.
			G. B. Hobbs, 19, Ruby Street, Saltburn.



Title of Organisation.	No. of Mem's.	Accum'ted Funds.	Secretary and Office Address.
Miners' Association (Blackburnshire).....	1,000		J. Cook, 9, Devon Village, by Allos, N.B.
Miners' Association (Cumberland).....	3,500	£222,942	Andrew Sharp, Great Broughton, near Cockermouth.
Miners' Association (Durham).....	89,914		J. Wilson, 16, North Road, Durham.
Miners' Association (Derbyshire).....	26,000		Jas. Haslam, M.P., Miners' Offices, Saltergate, Chesterfield.
Miners' Association (Forest of Dean).....	2,000		R. Buflamy, St. John's, Cinderford, Gloucester.
Miners' Association (Fife and Kinross).....	12,000	£27,000	John Weir, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.
Miners' Federation (Lancashire and Cheshire).....	34,500	£45,000	Thos. Ashton, 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.
Miners' Lanarkshire County Union.....	26,000		D. Gilmour, New Cross, Hamilton.
Miners' Association (Mid. and E. Lothian).....	3,750	£11,000	Robt. Brown, Miners' Offices, Dalkeith.
Miners' Association (Nottinghamshire).....	21,936	£167,683	Jno. G. Hancock, Miners' Offices, Nottingham Road, Nottingham.
Miners' Mutual Con. Association (Northumberland).....	21,936	£129,000	W. Straker, Burt Hall, Northumberland Road, Newcastle.
Miners' Federation (North Staffordshire).....	24,411		E. Edwards, M.P., Miners' Hall, Moorland Road, Burslem.
Miners' Association (Somerset).....	3,000	Not Stated	S. H. Whitehouse, Radstock, Bath.
Miners' Federation (South Wales).....	6,000	£92,000	Thos. Richards, M.P., Ty Cendi, Beaufort, Mon.
Miners' Association (Warwickshire).....	6,000	£12,000	Wm. Johnson, M.P., Miners' Offices, Bedworth.
Miners' Permanent Relief Society (Warwickshire).....	6,000		Wm. Johnson, M.P., Miners' Offices, Bedworth.
Miners' Association (Yorkshire).....	17,000	£3,500	The Secretary, Miners' Offices, Barnsley
Musicians' Union, Amalgamated.....	3,487	£1,151	A. Taylor, 922, Romford Road, Manor Park, E.
Navvies, Builders, Labourers, and G.L. Union.....	1,000		J. B. Williams, 135, Moss Lane East, Manchester.
Painters and Decorators, Operative House and Ship.....	18,640	£37,869	G. M. Sunley, 4, Camp Street, Lower Broughton, Manchester.
Pattern Makers, United Association.....	6,405	£56,587	W. Moses, 82, Street Lane, Leeds.
Plasterers, Operative, National Association.....	7,800	£28,587	T. H. Otley, 1044, Gullford Street, W.C.
Plumbers, United Op. Asso. (Great Britain and Ireland).....	11,479	£27,479	E. E. Burns, 188, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
Postal Clerks Association (United Kingdom).....	5,085		E. Lea, 30, Stanwell Road, Swinton, Manchester.
Postal Telegraph Clerks Association.....	8,000	£4,000	T. McKinney, 25, Pearl Assurance Buildings, Liverpool.
Postmen's Federation.....	32,200	Not Stated	Alex. MacLaren, 25, Howard Street, Glasgow.
Printmen's Association (London Central).....	900		F. Hampton, 21, Promie Street, Illington, N.
Power Loom Overlookers' Am. Asso. (Blackburn).....	3,200		F. R. Dodgson, 160, Cedar Street, Blackburn.
Power Loom Overlookers, General Union of Associated.....	4,500		J. R. Titterton, 6, John Street, Moston Lane, Manchester.
Power Loom, &c., Acctington District Association.....	3,700	£7,965	Henry Hep, 168, Wellington Street, Acctington.
Power Loom, Carpet Weavers' Mu. Del. and Prov. Assoc.....	900	£11,124	G. Lawlin, 106, Mill Street, Kidderminster.
Printers' Association, Operative.....	2,700		E. Smith, 7, Stonebitter Street, E.C.
Printers, Amalgamated Society of Litho. (U.K.).....	4,289	£12,717	W. D. Kelley, M.P., 68, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
Printing Machine Mangers' Trade Society (London).....	2,000	£10,311	R. W. Hovess, Printers' Hall, Fetter Lane, R.C.
Quarrymen's Union (North Wales).....	2,210		Richard Ball, R. Crosses, Oswlog, North Wales.
Railway Guards, Amalgamated Society.....	57,462	£380,567	T. Lath, 27, Green Street, Arsenal, Greenwich.
Railway Workers Union, General.....	5,500		A. G. Walkden, 387, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.

ALPHABETICALLY

	Mem's.	Funds.	
Saddlers, Harness, and Collar Makers' Union .....	800	£3,400	G. Oller, 32, Greenhill Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.
Salt, Alkali Workers' Federation .....	1,629	£2,626	W. Gillett, 370, Stalton Road, Winsford.
Scientific Instrument Makers .....	1,000	£2,626	J. W. Clark, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.
Shipwrights, Associated Society .....	18,784	£134,000	Alex. Wilkie, M. P., Winkle Chambers, Eldon Square, Newcastle.
Shop Assistants, National Amalgamated Union .....	20,000	£290,000	Geo. Macpherson, 122, Gower Street, W.C.
Smiths and Strikers, United Kingdom Society .....	3,600	£290,000	Jas. Ashcroft, 21, Manor Street, Ardwick, Manchester.
Spinners, Amalgamated Association Operative .....	20,300	£455,841	W. m. Marsland, 3, Blossom Street, Manchester.
Spinners, Oldham Operative Cotton .....	4,800	Not Stated	T. Ashion, 39, Blimont Street, Oldham.
Spinners and Pleers, Provincial Association .....	5,700	£19,315	A. H. Gill, M. P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Steel and Iron Workers, Amal. Society (Great Britain) ..	11,500	£85,000	J. Gavin, 144, West Regent Street, Glasgow.
Steel Engine Makers' Society .....	13,250	£80,000	W. F. Dawtry, Market Buildings, Thomas Street, Manchester.
Steel Smelters, &c. (British Amalgamat-d Association) ..	1,344	£7,000	J. Hodge, M. P., Ormond Mansions, Gt. Ormond Street, W.C.
Steelworkers, National Association .....	3,500	£7,000	G. Beadle, Harwell House, Harrogate, Darlington.
Stonemasons, Friendly Society Operative (Gt. Britain) ..	14,277	£750	J. Anderson, Maritime Hall, Poplar, E.
Tailors, &c., Amalgamated Society .....	3,400	£29,629	W. Hancock, 28, John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.
Textile Operatives' Society of Ireland .....	6,324	£23,705	Terrence A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Street, Manchester.
Tin and Iron Plate, Sheet Metal, &c., Nat. Amal .....	1,837	£4,350	The Secretary, Trades Council, 31, Crocus Street, Belfast.
Tin and Sheet Mill, Men's Association .....	1,100	£11,150	J. Charles Gordon, 41, Clapham Road, S.W.
Tool Makers, Amalgamated .....	3,101	£23,500	I. H. Gwynne, 6, Belle Vue Street, Swansea.
Tramway and Vehicle Workers, Am. Association .....	18,000	£33,705	Thos. Collins, 33, Denmark Street, Dublin.
Typographical Association (Scottish) .....	18,983	£13,700	W. F. Beston, 38, John Bright Street, Birmingham.
Typographical Association (Scottish) .....	4,030	Not Stated	G. T. Jackson, 5, Leaf Square, Pendleton.
Unholsters, Amalgamated Union .....	2,000	Not Stated	H. Skinner, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.
Watermen, Amalgamated Society of Lightermen) .....	13,000	Not Stated	John Templeton, Baltic Chambers, 50, Wellington St., Glasgow.
Weavers, Winders, &c. (Blackburn District) .....	2,500	Not Stated	Lewis Leckie, 45, Lawford Road, Kentish Town.
Weavers, Power Loom, Prot. Society (Blackburn) .....	3,500	Not Stated	Ald. H. Gosling, 29, Trinity Square, E.C.
Weavers (Northern Counties Amalgamated Association) ..	90,000	Not Stated	Dr. Gouldsborough, 2, Eastwood Street, Blackburn.
Weavers, Winders, &c. (Clitheroe) .....	2,000	Not Stated	W. Mellor, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Weavers, Winders, &c. (Association) (Darwen) .....	7,500	Not Stated	K. B. Dodgson, 160, Cedar Street, Blackburn.
Weavers' Association (Nelson and District) .....	2,000	Not Stated	J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, Accrington.
Wire Drawers of Great Britain (Amalgamated) .....	4,600	£6,821	Austin H. Cottam, Weavers' Institute, Clitheroe.
Woodcutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society .....	1,000	£3,398	D. J. Shackleton, M. P., 21, Victoria Street, Darwen.
Wool Sorters, National Union .....	1,000	£3,398	W. Ward, Weavers' Institute, Pendle Street, Nelson.
			N. Cook, "The Poptars," Lovely Lane, Warrington.
			T. Park, 40, Brunswick Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester.
			T. Grundy, Albert Buildings, Bradford.

## ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY.

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AND the prime duty of every man is to see that his fellows are treated justly and fairly, and life made as happy as possible for everyone.

To assist in doing this is the aim of

## The Society of Amalgamated TOOLMAKERS

Copies of whose Rules, Monthly Record, containing items of general interest, &c., may be obtained on application to the General Secretary, WILLIAM F. BESTON,

38, John Bright Street, Birmingham

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NOTE.—The Amalgamated Toolmakers was established in 1882, is registered under Act of Parliament, has paid in Benefits £48,000, is affiliated to the General Federation and the L.R.C. Reserve Funds, £12,000.

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*Motto.—It is by helping others we best help ourselves*

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## TRADES COUNCILS.

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

- Aberavon** and Dist., T. Ll. Francis, Courtland Pl., Port Talbot, Glam.  
**Aberdare**, E. Stonelake, 22, Belmont Tce., Aberaman, Aberdare.  
**Abertillery** and Dist., E. Evans, 25, Gladstone St., Brynteg, Abertillery, Mon.  
**Accrington** and Dist., W. Wareing, 11, Edgar St., Accrington.  
**Altrincham**, Wm. Woodall, Manchester Rd., West Timperley.  
**Ashton-under-Lyne** and Dist., W. P. Lodge, 13, Pelham St., Ashton-under-Lyne.  
**Bacup** and Dist., R. Green, 9, Irwell Tce., Bacup.  
**Banbury**, Thos. Giles, 35, North St., Banbury.  
**Barnsley**, J. Mellor, 40, Pleasant View St., Barnsley.  
**Barrow-in-Furness**, A. Taylor, 14, Lord Roberts St., Barrow-in-Furness.  
**Bath** and Dist., P. Browning, 9, Highbury Pl., Bath.  
**Battersea**, Coun. J. H. Brown, 455, Battersea Park Rd., S.W.  
**Bedford** and Dist., J. W. Marriott, 10, Gladstone St., Bedford.  
**Beeston** (Notts). H. Smith, 41, Derby St., Beeston, Notts.  
**Bermondsey** and Rotherhithe, G. Sims, 54, Park Bldgs., Rotherhithe, S.E.  
**Birkenhead** and Dist., J. Rowland, 1, Stanley Pl., Tranmere, Birkenhead.  
**Birmingham**, Coun. J. E. Berry, 260, Albert Rd., Aston, Birmingham.  
**Blackburn** and Dist., J. Frankland, 56, Dewhurst St., Blackburn.  
**Blackpool** and Dist., T. Marsden, 29, Palatine Rd., Blackpool.  
**Blaydon** and Dist., W. Jeavons, 4, Haradine Tce., Rowlands Gill, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
**Blyth** and Dist. R. Hewitson, 52, Bowes St., Waterloo, Blyth, Northumberland.  
**Bolton** and Dist., R. Tootill, 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.  
**Bournemouth** and Dist., W. H. White, 7, Grant's Av., Springbourne, Bournemouth.  
**Bradford** and Dist., W. H. Drew, Trades Hall, Bradford.  
**Brighouse** and Dist., R. Hirst, 10, Industrial St., Brighouse.  
**Brighton** and Dist., D. Deering, 13a, Totland Rd., Brighton.  
**Bristol**, J. Curle, J.P., 133, Wells Rd., Bristol.  
**Briton Ferry**, G. Mort, 41, Royal St., E., Briton Ferry, Glam.  
**Brixton** and Dist., H. Hill, 20, Andalus Rd., Stockwell, S.E.  
**Burnley** and Dist., J. Sparling, 47, Woodgrove Rd., Burnley.  
**Burton-on-Trent** and Dist., L. Jones, 54, S. Uxbridge St., Burton-on-Trent.  
**Bury**, G. T. Pilling, 159, Bell Lane, Bury, Lancs.  
**Caerphilly**, D. Thomas, 7, Nantgarw Rd., Caerphilly, Cardiff.  
**Camberwell**, F. J. Bollen, 60, Linnell Rd., Camberwell, S.E.  
**Cardiff**, J. Chappell, J.P., 29, Moorland Rd., Splott, Cardiff.  
**Carlisle**, J. Hope, 43, Currock Rd., Carlisle.  
**Castleford** and Dist., W. Bates, 56, Smawthorne Av., Castleford, S.O., Yorks.  
**Chatham** and Dist., J. Hoskin, 25, Regent's Rd., Gillingham, Kent.  
**Cheltenham** and Dist., J. W. Betteridge, Melville, Swindon Rd., Cheltenham.  
**Chester**, W. Carr, 7, Deva Tce., Chester.  
**Chesterfield**, R. Holmes, 29, Hartington Rd., Spital, Chesterfield.  
**Chorley**, T. Barker, 78, Devonshire Rd., Chorley.  
**Clitheroe**, W. H. Seedall, 17, Henthorn Rd., Clitheroe.  
**Coalville** and Dist., W. Hancock, 45, Berrisford St., Coalville, Leicester.  
**Colne** and Dist., R. Stuttard, 1, Carry Lane, Colne.  
**Coventry** and Dis., T. J. Jackson, 122, Leicester Causeway, Stony Stanton Rd., Coventry.  
**Crewe** and Dist., J. E. Dideridge, 29, Stamford Av., Crewe.  
**Croydon** and Dist., A. Jenner, 24, Cuthbert Rd., Croydon.  
**Darlington**, P. Harrison, 61, Charles St., Darlington.  
**Darwen** and Dist., S. Hamer, 3, Progress St., Darwen.  
**Deptford** and Greenwich, J. McCaffery, 8, Marlboro' St., East Greenwich.  
**Derby** and Dist., S. B. Dickinson, 29, Wild St., Derby.  
**Dewsbury**, (see Yorks. Heavy Woollen Dist.).  
**Doncaster** and Dist., O. Fryer, 8, Montague St., Doncaster.  
**Dover** and Dist., T. R. Claringbould, 19, Erith St., Dover.  
**Durham**, W. Meade, 4, Back Sutton St., Durham (City).

Earlestown, W. Speakman, Park Rd., Newton-le-Willows, Lancs.  
 East Ham and Dist., W. Ryall, 8, Stamford Rd., East Ham, E.  
 Ebbw Vale, L. Carter, 11, Rees Street, Ebbw Vale.  
 Erith, L. S. Jowitt, 32, Ripley Rd., Belvedere, Kent.  
 Exeter, F. Langmead, 23, Regent St., St. Thomas, Exeter.

Farnworth and Dist., S. Lawton, 4, Thorpe St., Walkden, Manchester.  
 Felixstowe and Walton, W. G. Tobell, 97, King St., Walton, Ipswich.  
 Finsbury, J. V. Villa, 7, Lloyd's Row, Clerkenwell, E.C.  
 Folkestone, E. Marchant, 11, Ernwell Rd., Folkestone.

Glossop, Hadfield, and Dist., A. Harrop, 25, Railway St., Hadfield, Manchester.  
 Gloucester, A. E. Musty, Alington, Derby Rd., Gloucester.  
 Gorseinon and Dist., F. Francis, 75, High St., Gorseinon.  
 Gorton, G. Saville, 42, Stopford St., Openshaw, Manchester.  
 Gosport and Dist., J. M. Mactavish, 1, King's Rd., Gosport, Portsmouth.  
 Grantham, R. R. Leech, 2, Albert St., Grantham.  
 Gravesend and Northfleet, W. C. Proctor, 34, London Road, Northfleet, Kent.  
 Grays and Dist., G. A. Hotter, 34, Salisbury Rd., Grays, Essex.  
 Grimsby and Dist., A. Bearfield, 70, Welholme Rd. E., Great Grimsby.  
 Guildford, J. Cornford, 53, Stoke Grove, Guildford.

Hackney, C. Horne, 23, Glenarm Rd., Clapton, N.E.  
 Halifax, A. Taylor, 32, Skiroat Green, Halifax.  
 Hampstead, W. Dunkwater, 48, Fleet Rd., Hampstead.  
 Harrogate and Dist., W. J. Adams, Westmorland Hse., Harrogate.  
 Hartlepool, J. S. Stanishy, Beaumont Tce., Studley Rd., W. Hartlepool.  
 Haslingden and Dist., C. H. Rushton, 8 James St., Grane Rd., Haslingden, Manchester.  
 Hasting, St. Leonards, and Dist., W. Campling, 20, Vicarage Rd.  
 Hebden Bridge and Dist., W. Irvin, Dogbottom, Hebden Bridge.  
 Hereford, G. H. Gooding, 46, Widemarsh St., Hereford.  
 Heywood and Dist., S. J. Bardsley, 31, Pleasant Rd., Heywood.  
 Hinckley, J. Bennett, 56, Upper Bond St., Hinckley.  
 Horwich, S. Toothill, 28, Fairbairn St., Horwich.  
 Huddersfield and Dist., J. W. Brierley, 75, Norman Rd., Birkby, Huddersfield.  
 Hull and Dist., W. Boyes, 7, Torrington St., Hull.  
 Hyde, Denton, and District, S. Knowles, Hatter's Office, Hyde.

Ilkeston and Dist., W. Wimant, 20, St. Mary St., Ilkeston.  
 Ipswich and Dist., F. J. Ellis, 32, Gatacre Rd., Ipswich.  
 Islington, Coun. E. H. Jarvis, 39, Horsell Rd., Highbury, N.

Keighley and Dist., J. Dawson, 36, Rutland St., Keighley.  
 Kendal and Dist., W. Hewertson, 15, Nether St., Kendal.  
 Kettering and Dist., J. Taylor, 11, Horsemarket, Kettering.  
 Kidderminster and Dist., W. Curtis, 17, Hume Street, Kidderminster.

Lambeth and Dist., F. E. Carter, 107, Ferndale Road, Brixton, S.W.  
 Lancaster, A. E. Harrison, 3, Wellington Rd., Lancaster.  
 Leamington, J. Klack, 30, Eagle St., Leamington.  
 Leeds and Dist., O. Connellan, 4, Carlton Mount, Dorrington Rd., Leeds.  
 Leicester, M. Curley, 39, Hamilton St., Leicester.  
 Leigh and Dist., G. Brown, 252, Elliott St., Tyldesley, Manchester.  
 Lincoln and Dist., John A. Matthews, 52, Arboretum Av., Lincoln.  
 Liverpool and Vicinity, Secretary, 40, Exmouth Street, Liverpool.  
 Llanelli, D. A. Edwards, 53, James St., Llanelli.  
 London, J. Macdonald, 41, Cowcross St., E.C.  
 London, S.W. Dist., T. R. Wall, 277, Lillie Road, Fulham, S.W.  
 Long Eaton and Dist., W. Ardier, 3, Oxford Street, Long Eaton.  
 Loughborough, W. Hoxton, 66, Burder St., Loughborough.  
 Ludlow, Mr. Newell, Julian Rd., Ludlow.  
 Luton and Dist., W. J. Taylor, 66, Cardigan St., Luton.  
 Lydney, C. Howells and W. Darters, 20, Tutnalls, Lydney, Glos.

- Laidstone and Dist., C. J. Smith, 189, Boxley Road, Maidstone.
- Lancaster and Salford, G. D. Kelley, J.P., 63, Upper Brook St., Manchester.
- Lancaster and Salford, Women's Tr. Un. C., Mrs. O. M. Aldridge, 9, Albert Sq., Manchester
- Lancaster and Salford Women's T.C., Eva Gore-Booth and Sarah Dickenson, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- Merthyr and Dist., D. Davies, 5, Pant Cottages, Dowlais.
- Mexborough and Dist., B. Phelps, 18, Piccadilly, Swinton, Retherham.
- Middlesbrough, T. Smith, 2, Romney Street, Middlesbrough.
- Middleton and Dist., A. Davies, 30, Hilton Fold Lane, Middleton, Manchester.
- Neath and Dist., T. Church, Glamorgan Hotel, Neath.
- Newark and Dist., A. Broadberry, 13, Meyrick Rd., Newark.
- Newcastle and Dist., T. Wilkinson, 1, Rosedale St., Shieldfield, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Newport (Mon.), F. H. Heath, 25, Lennard St., Maindee, Newport, Mon.
- Normanton and Dist., H. Myers, 84, Castleford Road, Normanton.
- Northampton, G. E. Robins, 47, Ethel St., Northampton.
- Northwich and Dist., G. Scales, 2, Chapel St., Wincham, Northwich.
- Norwich and Dist., G. Cleverley, 56, Sandringham Rd., Norwich.
- Nottingham and Dist., J. Thorneloe, 18, Lees Hill St., Nottingham.
- Oakengates and Dist., C. Woodhouse, Church St., St. George's, Wellington, Salop.
- Oldham, J. R. Clynes, M.P., 174, Union St., Oldham.
- Ossett and Dist., J. Hutton, Westfield Terrace, Gawthorpe, Ossett, R.S.O., Yorks.
- Oswestry and Dist., H. H. Smout, 30, Oak Rd., Oswestry.
- Oxford, H. J. Harris, 3, Cripsey Rd., Oxford.
- Paddington and N. Kensington, F. J. Smallwood, 50, Torriano Av., Camden Rd., N.W.
- Padiham and Dist., R. Hargreaves, 17, Canning St., Padiham, Burnley.
- Peterborough and Dist., H. Young, 12, Woodland Toe., Wood St., Peterborough.
- Plymouth and Dist., R. Benallack, 48, Adelaide St., Stonehouse, Plymouth.
- Pontardulais and Dist., D. Lewis, 11, Glynllhwr Rd., Pontardulais, Glam.
- Pontypridd and Dist., W. Harris, 3b., Rhondda Rd., Pontypridd.
- Poole and Branksome, G. R. Barrett, 3, Lismore Villa, Albert Rd., Upper Parkstone.
- Poplar and Dist., R. W. Gutteridge, 210, Leven Rd., Poplar, E.
- Portsmouth and Dist., A. E. Hatcher, 126, Walmer Rd., Portsmouth.
- Preston, W. Marshall, 52, Brixton Rd., Preston.
- Radcliffe and Dist., G. Knights, 29, Milltown St., Radcliffe, Manchester.
- Ramsbottom and Dist., H. Roe, 13, Garnett St., Ramsbottom.
- Rawtenstall, J. H. Whittles, 80, Schofield Rd., Rawtenstall.
- Reading and Dist., A. E. Jubb, 115, Elm Park Road, Reading.
- Reigate and Redhill, J. Madden, 20, Priory Road, Reigate.
- Rochdale and Dist., J. T. Tetlow, 448, Bury Road, Rochdale.
- Rotherham and Dist., G. W. Hopkinson, 37, Eldon Rd., Rotherham.
- Rugby, G. A. Cooke, 13, Temple St., Rugby.
- Runcorn, G. H. Kirkham, 7, High St., Runcorn.
- St. Albans and Dist., G. Olieff, 18, Etna Rd., St. Albans.
- St. Helens and Dist., G. Parr, 88, Raglan St., St. Helens.
- Sandbach and Dist., J. H. Broad, Bradwall Rd., Sandbach.
- Scarborough and Dist., J. T. Black, 28, Caledonia St., Scarborough.
- Sounthorpe and Dist., W. S. Hart, 18, Grosvenor St., Crosby, Doncaster.
- Sheffield, Coun. S. Uttley, J.P., 145, Pitsmoor Rd., Sheffield.
- Shields and Dist., W. W. Robertson, 90, Imeary Street, South Shields.
- Shildon and Dist., T. Scarff, 23, Foundry St., Shildon, R.S.O., Durham.
- Shipley and Dist., W. Russell, 12, Shipley Flds. Rd., Frizinghall, Bradford.
- Shoreditch, A. P. Brown, Tee-To-Tum, High St., Shoreditch, E.
- Shrewsbury, A. Hewitt, Edna Cottage, Wood St., Shrewsbury.
- Smethwick, W. Carless, 10, Woodland St., Smethwick, Birmingham.
- Southampton and Dist., J. W. Laing, 7, Forster Rd., Southampton.
- Southend and Dist., A. Watson, 45, Salisbury Av., Southend.
- Southport and Dist., R. Proudfoot, J.P., 62, Bath St., Southport.
- South Somerset, T. Noyce, 52, Earl St., Yeovil.
- Southwark, B. Cope, 1, York St., Walworth, S.E.

Spen Valley, A. Stott, Melbourne St., Union Rd., Heckmondwike, Yorks.  
 Staffs. (North), N. Parkes, 72, Slater St., Burslem.  
 Stalybridge and Dist., T. Robinson, 14a, Cross Leech St., Stalybridge.  
 Stanningley and Dist., S. Moss., 8, Sharp's Row, Robin Lane, Pudsey, Leeds.  
 Stockport and Dist., H. Spares, 21, Ash St., Cheadle Heath, Stockport.  
 Stockton and Thornaby, J. Eastwood, 32, Skinner St., Thornaby.  
 Stourbridge and Dist., F. Mayfield, New St., Lye, Stourbridge.  
 Sunderland and Dist., T. Summerbell, 14, St. Vincent St., Sunderland.  
 Swansea, E. J. Rees, 59, Courtney St., Manselton, Swansea.  
 Swindon and Dist., I. Rowley, 71, Jennings St., Swindon.

Taunton, W. H. Oaten, 85, South St., Taunton.  
 Todmorden and Dist., J. Wilkinson, 17, York Pl., Todmorden.  
 Tottenham, Edmonton, and Wood Green, T. J. Sandwell, 22, Filson Rd., Coleraine  
 Tottenham, N.  
 Tunbridge Wells, T. E. Cox, 15, Garden St., Tunbridge Wells.

Wakefield and Dist., W. B. Dyson, 38, Vicarage St., Wakefield.  
 Walsall and Dist., J. Bevan, Midland Rd., Walsall.  
 Walthamstow and Dist., A. Gentry, 68, Winns Av., Walthamstow, E.  
 Wandsworth, G. Wyver, 132, Disraeli Rd., Putney, S.W.  
 Warrington, Coun. E. Plinson, 194, Wilderspool Causeway, Warrington.  
 Watford and Dist., G. E. Dennis, 8, The Crescent, Watford.  
 Wellingborough and Dist., A. Butt, 12, Salisbury Rd., Wellingborough.  
 W. Bromwich and Dist., H. H. Wimbury, 26, Temple St., W. Bromwich.  
 West Ham and Dist., J. Gilbey, 10, Walpole Rd., Upton Park, E.  
 Westhoughton, T. Sherrington, 186, Manchester Rd., Westhoughton, Lanes.  
 Weston-super-Mare, E. A. Wallis, Glenroy, Whitecross Rd., Weston.  
 Weymouth, P. Palmer, 12, Trinity Terrace, Weymouth.  
 Whitehaven and Dist., R. O'Neil, 25, Ladypit Terrace, Whitehaven.  
 Wigan, E. Taylor, 6, Leader Street, Wigan.  
 Willemsden and Dist., J. E. Frisby, 6, Maybury Gdns., Willemsden Green, N.W.  
 Wolverhampton, S. Albiston, 62, Dunkley St., Wolverhampton.  
 Woolwich Dist., H. S. Wishart, 6-8, Glyndon Rd., Plumstead, S.E.  
 Worcester, E. Barlow, 21, Chestnut St., Worcester.  
 Workington and Dist., H. J. Tomlin, 6, Darcy St., Workington.  
 Worksop and Dist., G. A. Ratcliff, Newcastle Av., Worksop.

York and Dist., J. R. Woodall, 4, Nicholson Tce., Price St., York.  
 Yorks Heavy Woollen Dist., B. Turner, Weavers' Office, Batley.

### SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen, Coun. W. Johnston, J.P., 47, Belmont St., Aberdeen.  
 Arbroath, J. H. Clarke, 6, Hill Rd., Arbroath.  
 Ayrshire, P. Muir, James St., Dalry, Ayrshire.

Clydebank, M. Neil, 232, Glasgow Rd., Clydebank, Glasgow.

Dundee and Dist., J. Henderson, 1, Cunningham St., Dundee.  
 Dunfermline and Dist., J. Beck, Elliot St., Dunfermline.

Edinburgh and Dist., F. Hamilton, 57, Canongate, Edinburgh.

Falkirk and Dist., J. Lawson, 19, Griffiths Street, Falkirk.

Glasgow, G. Carson, 7, Garturk St., Govanhill, Glasgow.  
 Govan and Dist., D. Denny, 4, Greenfield St., Govan, Glasgow.  
 Greenock, R. Lemmon, 19, Brymner St., Greenock.

Inverness, J. Dougherty, 44, Princes Pl., Inverness.

Leith, Labour Hall, Smith's Place, Leith Walk, Leith.

Motherwell and Dist., J. D. Thomson, 83, Coursington Rd., Motherwell.

ley, T. Loudon, 13, Stow Street, Paisley.  
 h and Dist., A. Russell, 16, Campbell's Bldgs., St. Catherine's Rd., Perth.  
 of Leven, J. Turnbull, Co-operative Bldgs., Balloch, N.B.  
 haw and Dist., J. Fell, 23a, Leighton St., Wishaw.

### IRELAND.

lone, The Sec., Trades Council, Athlone.  
 ast, J. Murphy, 33, Paxton St., Belfast.  
 t, P. Lynch, 47, Gratton St., Cork.  
 lin, John Simmons, Trades Hall, Capel St., Dublin.  
 enny, The Sec., Trades Council, Kilkenny.  
 erick, M. Harvey, Mechanics' Inst., Bank Pl., Limerick.  
 nonderry, J. S. Pollock, 93, William St., Londonderry.  
 o, The Sec., John St., Sligo.  
 erford, The Sec., William St., Waterford.

## LABOUR DISPUTES IN 1906.

September, 1906, the Labour Department issued its 13th annual report changes in rates of wages and hours of labour. The complete summary covers the year 1905, but preliminary figures are given for the first half of 1906. The proportion of workpeople whose changes in wages were preceded by disputes in 1905 was only just over 2 per cent. of the whole; whilst the changes of 44 per cent. were arranged by conciliation, arbitration, wage orders, &c. The wage movements from 1900 onwards had shown a continual net decrease being: £76,000 per week in 1901; £72,000 in 1902; £60,000 in 1903; £39,200 in 1904. In 1905 about 319,000 obtained increases of £300 per week, and about 250,000 sustained decreases of £18,500 per week, but during the year the tendency had taken an upward movement, and throughout 1906 this movement continued. To June 1906 the changes had resulted in a net increase of £26,600 in the weekly wages of 443,000 workpeople. These advances were not secured without, in some cases, strikes or notices to strike.

### The Close of 1905.

On 1 December, 1905, the crisis in the South Wales coal industry was settled by the employers giving way and agreeing that the minimum wage-trade standard stand as before. In the same month the Newcastle tramway dispute ended by the men returning to work whilst the grievances were discussed and settled by a joint committee of equal numbers of the Tramway Committee and the men.

The strike of workmen on the battle-ship "Dreadnought," which commenced at Portsmouth on December 17th, on the ground that they were made to work 10 "days" per week, was settled by a promise of a reformed method of payments.

### South Wales Miners.

In March a great movement directed against non-unionists was commenced in South Wales by 7,000 miners giving in notices. All the defaulters at one time were induced to join the Union; but some 6,000 men at other collieries were out on April 30th, and another 10,000 men, at Mountain Ash and Merthyr, gave in notices on that date. Success in these districts was followed by similar movements in every part of the South Wales coalfield. In September



some 12,000 men were out. Eventually the non-unionists at these collieries were enrolled, and the men returned to work. A notable feature in the Merthyr district was the active part taken by the women. In October another 30,000 men gave in their notices in the Rhondda.

### **Belfast Textile Workers.**

In April the Belfast flax spinners began agitating for 10 per cent. advance in prices, equivalent to 1s. per week. Later they were granted 6 per cent. but struck in May for the full advance. The weavers joined in the movement, many factories were shut down, and exciting scenes took place in the streets. On May 25th the employers agreed to the 10 per cent. advance for spinners, doffers, preparers, and reelers, and the same for machine boys, the latter advance being equal to 9d. per week.

This result encouraged the women-workers to voice their serious grievances. There are some 20,000 women in the mills and factories of Belfast, Lisburn, and district, where among other work all the material is prepared for the hand lace and embroidery industries carried on in the Ulster villages. For 10 hours daily work they receive from 5s. to 10s. per week, their wages having been repeatedly reduced of late years, whilst rents and cost of living have risen. Although employers have been prosecuted by the Home Office Chief Inspector for illegal fining, there is a widespread system of unjust and capriciously imposed fines varying from 3d. to 2s. 6d. In some cases fines are even imposed by minor officials and divided up amongst themselves.

After failing to secure any notice of their complaints, Miss Galway (Textile Operatives' Union), Miss Macarthur (Women's Trade Union League), and Wm. Walker (Parliamentary candidate for N. Belfast) were appealed to by the women, and undertook their organisation. The employers having refused to submit the matters to arbitration, the women threatened to strike work. The employers replied by posting lock-out notices, and on June 4th some 14,000 women ceased work. At this point there was some hope that arbitration might be secured, and as Lord Aberdeen, the Lord Lieutenant, was being entertained in Belfast he was appealed to for the use of his influence in this matter. He professed to be shocked and amazed at the facts laid before him as to wages, hours, and conditions of work, but on the following day at an official banquet he stated that after having been informed by the leading employers that they were determined to make no concession, he could only advise the workers to return to the factories until their employers felt justified in considering some improvements. This action, by a Liberal Lord Lieutenant, was a crushing blow to a promising movement, and the workers drifted back to the old conditions again.

### **London Tailors and Compositors.**

For a long time there has been serious discontent among the tailors in the East End of London. Early in June events reached a crisis, and some thousands left work as a protest against the sweating conditions imposed by the masters. The London Trades Council gave the men their sympathy and support, and funds came in from all parts. The masters—the middlemen—began early to make concessions for fear that the shop firms would employ labour direct, but at first threatened to refuse to recognise the Union. Later they expressed willingness to allow their shops to be conducted on Trade Unionist lines, and proposed to agree to the men's terms. Since that time the men complain of many masters having broken away, and dissatisfaction is reviving. There is now an agitation for a wages board. In June also the London Society of Compositors was concerned with a lock-out in London which

s regarded as the commencement of a series of experiments by master nters in fighting trade unionism in detail. A threatened retaliatory strike s likely to be general, when the newspaper owners intervened, and were le to secure a satisfactory settlement of the difficulties.

### The Clyde.

The Clyde has been the scene of two disputes, the first of which was settled hout actually coming to a strike. The system of fortnightly payments of ges has long been strongly objected to, and in February, 1906, a vote was en of the men employed in the shipbuilding and engineering trades on y Clyde to ascertain whether they were ready to strike in order to enforce y payment of weekly wages, an arrangement which had failed to be arrived otherwise. The result of the vote was 16,000 for, and 2,700 against. On y masters refusing to come to terms at a conference held in April, the men re notice to cease work. As a consequence the masters receded from their wise position, and agreed to commence weekly payments in July. Meanwhile negotiations on the subject of wages had been proceeding from cember, 1905. During a period of bad trade there had been a general luction of 10 per cent. in wages, and upon the revival of trade in 1905 the n asked for the return of 5 per cent. of this. The employers, after some ay, asked for a conference, which took place on February 9th, 1906. After ther negotiations the employers staved off a settlement by asking for a ther conference in April. This was held, but without result. In May hird conference was held, after which it soon became clear that the employers re merely playing with the question in hope of getting through with their ; orders before the men could act. In July a ballot of the whole Society of ilermakers was taken, and by a large vote the Clyde members were emwered to strike on September 15th if the 5 per cent. advance was not granted. e men agreed to a further conference, but on September 22nd the employers, er further consideration, definitely refused the advance. A week later 00 Clyde men struck work, many thousands of others being affected. The ployers' retaliated by locking-out the boilermakers in adjacent districts. mid-November the men abandoned the contest and returned to work.

### Hemsworth.

An account of the origin of the Hemsworth Collieries strike and the earlier ctions appears in the 1906 issue of this *Year Book*. The company, not itent with evicting their own tenants, managed to buy the houses of other dlords, and so secured the eviction of strikers living in them. An attempt buy an hotel which was lodging 53 evicted miners' children was fortunately successful. Meanwhile, some houses from which miners had been evicted re secured by the Miners' Federation, and two families lodged in each. umber of the men got work elsewhere from time to time, but those remaining re keeping their families on 8s. 6d. a week strike pay, supplemented by tributions from other trade unions and individuals, averaging 1s. to 1s. 6d. r family.

Among other disputes to be noted is that at Enderby and Stoney Stanton arries, which commenced in November, 1905, when 800 men struck work, d lasted until April, 1906, when it was settled by the efforts of the Board of ade Conciliator. In May the London motor-bus drivers struck for better ditions, and returned on receiving some promise of improvements. In ptember a strike of Halifax tramwaymen ended by the men returning to rk unconditionally. In the same month a strike of Mansfield tramwaymen s satisfactorily settled.

## THE UNEMPLOYED.

THE year 1905 closed with acute distress still prevalent, and the holding of stormy meetings in various centres, and especially in London. A census taken in Poplar showed that out of 10,822 unskilled and irregularly employed labourers there were then 6,611 without employment.

### The New President of the L.G.B.

The appointment of Mr. John Burns to the Local Government Board and his inclusion in the Cabinet, raised great hopes of something being done to deal on a national basis with the question. Mr. Burns received several deputations during December, 1905, and January, 1906, but little resulted from this, except the wise relaxation of some of the rules regarding Poor-law relief.

A suggestion to mark the close of the year by a New Year's Eve demonstration in Trafalgar Square aroused some public consternation, and was quashed by the police.

### The Queen's Fund.

Before the end of the year the Fund had reached a total of over £130,000, much of this having already been distributed. During January and February the fund continued to be distributed, over £50,000 going to London. The remainder was distributed over the country in sums varying from about £2,000 in great centres of population, to sums even as low as £25 or £30 to towns of the size of York and Reading. When the fund was closed it had totalled to over £150,000, about £10,000 of which was ear-marked for the Salvation and Church Armies.

During February, a dozen unemployed men, carefully selected, marched from Liverpool to London in order to take part in the great demonstration in Hyde Park on the 12th, when thousands of men marched from the embankment to the Park.

A further demonstration, arranged by the Right to Work Council was held in Queen's Hall on the 21st, being presided over by J. Keir Hardie, and addressed by Michael Davitt, H. M. Hyndman, Bernard Shaw, and G. N. Barnes and other Labour M.P.'s. During February Mr. Burns declared emphatically against Labour Colonies under Boards of Guardians, a point on which those interested in the problem have always been divided. Under pressure from the Labour Party he decided, however, that Distress Committees might pay full rates of wages so long as they did not give a full week's work and so encourage the idea of permanency. He also allocated £200,000 from the national exchequer.

### The London Central Committee.

The Central Unemployed Committee for London during the winter organised eight schemes which provided work for 3,500 men for periods varying from eight to 16 weeks. The cost of these works was £50,000, of which £42,000 was received from the Queen's Fund. The Committee paid a Trade Union rate of wage for the work. The Salvation Army sent to Canada some thousands of emigrants during the winter. In March one ship took 1,400, of whom 1,000 were bread-winners.

In no year previous to 1906 had such serious attempts been made by central and local administrators to grapple in some practical way with the problem. The Act of 1905, despite its weakness and limitations, did a great service in allowing for the provision of machinery unconnected with, or at any rate uncontrolled by, philanthropic or denominational bodies. Among the agencies for good, the Right to Work Council was unsparing in its efforts to urge the local governing bodies to take full advantage of the new powers.



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**Mrs. COBDEN-SANDERSON.**

Sent to prison on October 24th for two months in Holloway Gaol for demonstration for votes for women. Biography on pages 155, 156.

# WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WORK.

## THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

A movement of supreme importance for women during the year 1906 has been the agitation carried on by the Women's Social and Political Union for Parliamentary Franchise. In the *Reformers' Year Book* for 1906 the writer of the Women's Section referred to the arrest of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney, in connection with their interruption of Sir Edward Grey's speech in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, as the most sensational episode of the year 1905.

The movement thus inaugurated has developed during 1906 into a veritable revolution, whose object is to bring to an end for ever the sex domination which has prevailed in the world up to the present day. Already the question of Women's Suffrage is one of immediate practical politics, and nearly the whole of the forces in favour of that reform are massed under a single banner and are heading straight for victory.

During the election campaign of all the principal Liberal leaders a strenuous effort was made by members of the Women's Social and Political Union to obtain answers from them as to what the Liberal Government intended to do for women. In every case answers were withheld, and acting on the plan of a campaign which they had formulated, the women persisted in addressing their questions until they were ejected from the meeting. This took place at the Women's Hall meeting where Mr. Asquith spoke; and at the Albert Hall meeting presided by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, where both Annie Kenney and Teresa Billington made their protest in this way. Winston Churchill's meeting at Manchester; Asquith's at Sheffield and Huddersfield; Campbell-Bannerman's at Liverpool and Glasgow; Sir Edward Grey's at Hanley; Gladstone's at Leeds; and Lloyd-George's at Altrincham were all treated in a like manner. The leaders of the Liberal Party remained obdurate and gave no answer.

The next action was an attempt to reach Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman by letter, but this equally failed, and the women who were determined that Liberals should not pose as their friends unless they were prepared to do something for them decided upon a fresh advance. Several of them went next to his residence in Downing Street and demanded an interview. They were refused admittance, but continued to knock upon his door until they were driven away by the police. After this Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman expressed willingness to see a deputation of the members of the W.S.P.U., and other suffrage societies.

### In the Ladies' Gallery.

In the meantime a new demonstration had taken place. On April 25th Keir Hardie introduced into the House of Commons a resolution in favour of the removal of the sex disqualification for the franchise. At 10.45 p.m. Mr. Samuel Jones got up with the intention of talking the resolution out. He had not proceeded far before a number of women made a protest in the Ladies' Gallery,

displaying the banner with the words "Votes for Women." The result of the scene was electrical. The decorous respectability of the House was shocked as it had not been for generations. Women hastened to dissociate themselves from this action. Members of Parliament hitherto reckoned as advocates of Women's Suffrage declared that in consequence of the behaviour of half a dozen women, they must now forego granting this reform. The Press said that the cause of Women's Suffrage had been put back for generations. Annie Kenney, Teresa Billington, and Irene Miller, who were among the ringleaders, were forbidden to enter the House of Commons again during the session.

On the other hand, Mr. Spencer Leigh Hughes (*Sub Rosa*) pointed out that the women were imitating the successful tactics of the peeresses of the year 1733.

### Deputation to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

The next event was the deputation to the Prime Minister on May 19th when 400 women were present representing over half a million of their sex. Eight speeches\* were delivered by the delegates, two of which were of special importance. Eva Gore Booth, speaking on behalf of the 50 delegates sent by the Lancashire Women's societies, Trade Unions, &c., said in the course of her remarks:—

The number of women who are engaged at this time in producing the wealth of this country is double the population of Ireland. It is a very large number. These women are all labouring under the gross disability and industrial disadvantage of an absolute want of political power. Every day we live this becomes a more grave disadvantage, because industrial questions are becoming political questions which are being fought out in Parliament. The vast number of women workers have their point of view and their interests to be considered; but those interests are not considered, and the whole effect of their crushing exclusion is to react on the question of their wages.

Mrs. Pankhurst, on behalf of the W.S.P.U., expressed the immediate urgency of the demand. She said:—

The members of the union I represent have instructed me to ask you to enfranchise women this year, either by a clause in the Plural Voting Bill or by a separate measure. Mr. Harcourt has described as a crying abuse the fact that there are men in the country who have more than one vote. What kind of abuse is it that permits no woman to have a vote? If the Government has time to remove the one crying abuse—and I admit that it is—surely the Government should make time to deal with the gross injustice which is an outrage to women. It may be said in reply, that the Government has no time at present to deal with this question because of the pressure on other business. We, as women, say no business can be more pressing than ours. We, as women, protest against men going on any longer making laws which we working women have to obey.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in his reply, said that the women had made out an irrefutable case, but some of his colleagues were not converted to this reform, and he had no advice to give to the women but "Patience." The members of the W.S.P.U., rejecting this advice, determined to see what could be done with the unconverted members of the Cabinet, the most notorious being Mr. Asquith.

### Lloyd George's advice about Asquith.

They were strengthened in this resolve by a remark from Mr. Lloyd George. Following their usual procedure of demonstrating at all Liberal meetings so long as the Government proved unsympathetic, several of the women had gone to Liverpool, where Mr. Lloyd George was speaking on May 24th. While he was in the course of his remarks they made an interruption, and were ejected. Whereupon Mr. Lloyd George claimed the sympathy of his audience on the

\*A pamphlet containing the whole of the eight speeches and the Prime Minister's reply can be had from any of the Suffrage Societies.

found that he was sympathetic. "Why," he said, "do they not go for their enemies? Why don't they go for their greatest enemy?" Voices from all over the hall called out, "Asquith, Asquith." And Mr. Lloyd George, by giving no repudiation, tacitly admitted that this was the man to whom he referred.

The ladies addressed Mr. Asquith by letter, requesting an interview, which was refused. A deputation, however, was sent to him, and waited on his doorstep, but Mr. Asquith escaped by the back door. A second deputation was turned back by the police, and Teresa Billington was arrested and sent to prison for two months; Annie Kenny, Mrs. Knight, and Mrs. Sparborough, against whom no offence was proved, except of trying to ring Mr. Asquith's door bell, received six weeks' imprisonment each for refusing to pledge themselves not to go again.

Meanwhile Mrs. Montefiore, who had for some time past refused to pay her taxes, on the principle of "No taxation without representation," barred up her house to prevent the entrance of the tax-collector's bailiff. The siege of "Fort Montefiore," as it was called, lasted for several weeks, until at last the bailiff forced an entrance and distrained her goods. About this date an important contribution to the subject was made by T. D. Benson, Treasurer of the I.L.P., in the form of a letter containing the following satirical statement:—

Of course, when men wanted the franchise, they did not behave in the unruly manner of our feminine friends. They were perfectly constitutional in their agitation. In Bristol, I find they only burnt the Mansion House, the Custom House, the Bishop's Palace, the Excise Office, three prisons, four toll houses, and 42 private dwellings and warehouses, and all in a perfectly constitutional and respectable manner. Numerous constitutional fires took place in the neighbourhoods of Bedford, Cambridge, Canterbury, and Devizes. Four men were respectably hanged at Bristol and three in Nottingham. The Bishop of Lichfield was nearly killed, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was insulted, spat upon, and with great difficulty rescued from amidst the yells and execrations of a violent and angry mob. In this and other ways the males set a splendid example of constitutional methods in agitating for the franchise. I think we are well qualified to advise the suffragettes to follow our example, to be respectable and peaceful in their methods like we were, and then they will have our sympathy and support.

### The Cockermouth Election.

In the early part of August took place the Cockermouth election. The W.S.P.U. had now determined that their one political attitude would be independent opposition to all Liberal candidates so long as the Liberal Government refused to give them any satisfactory pledge. Accordingly they went to Cockermouth, and started an independent campaign, and continued in this attitude even after the selection of Sir J. Randles as the Conservative and Robert Smillie as the Labour candidate. This marked a new epoch in the movement. Previously it had been a definite wing of the Labour Party, now for the first time it appealed to all women irrespective of party. Robert Smillie, instead of making capital for himself by a warm advocacy of Women's Suffrage, treated the independence of the women as a hostile move, and received considerable support for his position in the *Labour Leader*. An attempt, which was unsuccessful, was made to eject Christabel Pankhurst and Teresa Billington from their branch of the I.L.P.

Meanwhile, the largest demonstration in the movement which had yet taken place was the assembly of 20,000 people in Boggart Hole Clough, to listen to Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Keir Hardie, and others. Owing to the action of a few rowdies, the meeting was broken up in disorder, and some of the speakers narrowly escaped with their lives. Other meetings,



however, were held in Manchester and other parts of the country, and resolutions condemning the imprisonment of Annie Kenny, Mrs. Knight, and Mrs. Sparborough, and calling for the immediate enfranchisement of women, were carried by huge majorities.

On August 13th, "Mr. Asquith's Prisoners," as they were called, were released, and Annie Kenney made a tour throughout the country speaking at monster demonstrations. A tremendous welcome was extended to her wherever she went. Whether it were in Lancashire, Yorkshire, the Midlands, the Metropolis, or the South, the plain unvarnished story of the mill girl, whose soul was aflame with passionate eagerness, carried everything before it. Wherever she spoke audiences gathered in numbers which astonished even her friends, in some instances running into five figures, and frequently exceeding, according to the estimates of the police, the largest crowds hitherto collected in the place. In London the Suffragist platform in Hyde Park was regularly attended by upwards of 7,000 people.

Meanwhile the W.S.P.U. took part in the strike of weavers at Daubhill, Bolton. They found there a condition of things very discreditable to the employers who had for a year been in conflict with their workgirls. The W.S.P.U. succeeded in calling public attention to the fact, and by so doing brought pressure to bear upon the firm to submit the case to arbitration. As a result the girls won the principal points in dispute.

During the same month the Social DemokratISChe Forbund, after listening to the story of the imprisoned suffragists, in England, passed the following resolution with intense enthusiasm :—

"That this meeting expresses the deepest admiration for, and the warmest sympathy with, the brave women who have been so vindictively sentenced to imprisonment for merely technical offences, and the Danish workers, men and women, feel solidarity with the work of 'Women's Social and Political Union' in England for the *Votes for Women*."

During October a vigorous campaign in East Fife, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and a great many other places was carried on, and branches of the Union were formed. Mr. Asquith, on his visit to Ladybank, on October 13th, consented to receive a deputation of women of his constituency, and described as incorrect the rumour that his colleagues in the Cabinet were striving to bring in Women's Franchise, and it was he who had held them back. At the same time he expressed the opinion that women would lose as well as gain by getting the vote, and told them they must work out their own salvation.

#### **Mary Gawthorpe talks down Mr. Samuel Evans.**

Meanwhile, in Mid-Glamorgan, Mr. Samuel Evans, who had talked out the Women's Franchise resolution in the House of Commons, on April 25th, came up for re-election, owing to his acceptance of a minor Government office. The W.S.P.U. took the field with a view to supporting any candidate that should be put up to oppose him. The miners in the district instructed their executive to run an independent candidate, and it seemed likely that Mr. Hartshorne would be selected; but in spite of these instructions the executive refused to take any action, and no other candidate was forthcoming. The women, however, did not allow Mr. Samuel Evans to go away without a demonstration, and on two occasions when he went to meetings to speak, Mary E. Gawthorpe succeeded in talking him down, the local miners and their wives rejoicing in his defeat.

#### **The Scene in the House of Commons.**

The biggest demonstration of the year took place on October 23rd, on the

day of the reopening of Parliament in the Outer Lobby of the House of Commons.

The first part of the proceedings was conducted in the most decorous and approved manner. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence first approached one of the Liberal Whips, and asked him to put a question to the Prime Minister. There was a large number of women outside the House, they told him, waiting to know whether there was any hope for them this session; would he in the Plural Voting Bill, or in any other way, give to them what they were asking—their enfranchisement? The Liberal Whip was gone away but a little time, and then he returned to them with a negative. "Does he hold out any hope to us for other sessions?" they asked, but the Whip shook his head. "That is the last word you have to say?" "It is."

With that the two women returned to the Outer Lobby. What was the use of decorous conduct? It was futile. The time for drastic action was come—action which would shock the decorous, respectable world into attention.

### **Breaking a Convention.**

The particular convention which it was decided to break was the immaculate sanctity of the men's House of Commons. First Mary E. Gawthorpe got up on to one of the seats and addressed the astonished crowd. The women formed up round her, but the police dragged her down. Then Mrs. Despard (sister of General French) took her turn, then Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, then others. All as they spoke were hustled out with rough hands, and bundled into the street. There they started to hold a meeting of protest. And it was there that the arrests took place.

They were immediately taken to Scotland Yard, and there charged with using abusive language with intent to cause obstruction.

Next day, at the Westminster Police Court, the charges against them were heard. The police brought no evidence to prove their charge of abusive language, and, though the women refused to cross-examine the police, or to call witnesses in their own defence (on the ground that they refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the Court, which was composed solely of men and carried out solely men-made laws) they were not convicted; nevertheless, the magistrate stated that he should bind them over in their own recognizances to keep the peace for six months.

### **Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson's Statement.**

Then Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, as the first prisoner, claimed her right to make a statement. She went to the House of Commons, she said, to demand the vote; so long as women were deprived of citizens' rights they had no constitutional means of obtaining redress. She claimed that they had a right to be heard in the House of Commons and in protest outside.

She took the responsibility on her shoulders. "If anyone is guilty it is I. I was arrested as one of the ringleaders. Being one of the oldest present, I was most responsible. But I don't acknowledge the authority of this Court as long as I have no word or part in the making of the laws I am asked to obey. I will only quote the words of the President of the Local Government Board: 'I am a rebel because I am an outlaw.' I was not there to make disorder."

Meanwhile, the magistrate, who had repeatedly interrupted her, now refused to hear any more or to allow any statement at all from any of the other prisoners. This unfair treatment decided them to take extreme measures, and raising a banner bearing the words "Women should vote for the laws they obey and the taxes they pay," they declared their intention of standing their ground.

### Turned Out of Court.

The magistrate called the police, and the women were taken from the Court. It is needless to say that their attitude was entirely passive, the disgusting reports in some of the sensational Press, charging them with "biting, scratching and kicking," being totally and utterly without foundation.

The next thing that happened was that Sylvia Pankhurst entered the Court and protested against the manner in which the case had been heard. She was violently ejected by the police, and subsequently charged for causing obstruction *outside* the Court. Though the evidence against her was that of a single policeman, and was contradicted by the testimony of Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Fisher Unwin, and Mrs. Cobden-Sickert, who also gave evidence as to the insufferable manner in which they had been treated in the police court, she was convicted, and ordered to pay a fine of £1 or go to prison for a fortnight. She chose the latter.

The 10 other prisoners were then recalled singly, and told that as they refused to enter into their own recognizances, they must either find surety for £10 or go to prison for two months. They all chose the latter, and they were conveyed to Holloway Goal.

This demonstration and the severe punishment meted out to the 11 brave women produced an extraordinary change of opinion throughout the country. Hitherto the idea had been fostered by enemies of the movement that the Suffragists were rowdy and fanatical women seeking only self-advancement; but now this view could be no longer held. Many of the women were known personally to a great number of people, not only as quiet, logical thinkers but as essentially women, who would not have taken the step they had taken except under the strongest conviction of duty. Mrs. Fawcett, Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss Beatrice Harraden, and many other prominent women publicly avowed their intention of supporting the movement. An agitation was commenced and continued, the women were made first-class misdemeanants, and Keir Hardie's Bill for the Removal of the Sex Disqualification, introduced on November 7th, was greeted by the Prime Minister with the remark that there was no truth in the assertion that he had said that the Government would not deal with the enfranchisement of women during the life of the present Parliament. This was taken to be a first step of the Government towards climbing down from its position of non possumus.

### Miss Milne arrested and sent to Holloway.

The Suffragettes made a further demonstration at the Richard II. statue outside the House of Commons, on Monday, November 19th. Both Mrs. Despard and Miss Milne attempted to address a crowd from the base, but were dragged down by the police in spite of determined attempts to regain their position. The police arrested Miss Milne, but took no further action with regard to Mrs. Despard.

At the police court next day, when the case was heard, Mrs. Despard said that the demonstration was deliberately planned because they could not get any attention paid to their case in any other way. She was at least as guilty as Miss Milne, because she was the older woman.

Mr. Horace Smith sentenced Miss Milne to pay a fine of 10s., or go to prison for a week. She chose the latter, and was sent off to Holloway Goal.

The movement goes forward into the New Year with assurance that the agitation will grow with renewed vigour, and with the determination that before the Session of 1907 comes to an end women will no longer be outside the citizenship of their country.

## WHY WOMEN WANT THE VOTE.

**Because** no race or class or sex can have its interests properly safeguarded the Legislature of a country unless it is represented by direct suffrage.

**Because** politics and economics go hand in hand. And so long as woman has no political status she will be the "bottom dog" as a wage earner.

**Because**, while men who are voters can get their economic grievances listened to, non-voters are disregarded.

**Because** the possession of citizenship and the meeting together for political discussion stimulates the faculty for combined action, and gives of itself a greater power of economic resistance.

**Because** women are taxed without being represented, and taxation without representation is tyranny.

**Because** women have to obey the laws equally with men, and they ought to have a voice in deciding what those laws shall be.

**Because** the Legislature in the past has not made laws which are equal between men and women; and these laws will not be altered till women get the vote.

**Because** all the more important and lucrative positions are barred to women and opportunities of public service are denied.

**Because** politics have invaded the home, and women must therefore enter politics.

**Because** grave questions, such as the death-rate of infants, the waste of child-life, the employment of married women, unemployment, wages, and care of the aged, cannot be satisfactorily settled if the women's point of view is left out.

**Because** all the wisest men and women realise that decisions based upon the point of view of men and women together are more valuable than those based upon either singly.

**Because**, so long as the majority of the women of the country have no interest in politics, the children grow up ignorant of the meaning of the struggle for freedom, and lessons learnt in one generation by bitter experience have to be relearnt by the next in the same school.

**Because**, wherever women have become voters, reform has proceeded more rapidly than before, and even at home our municipal government, in which the women have a certain share, is in advance of and not behind our Parliamentary attitude on many important questions.

**Because** women, like men, need to have some interests outside the home, and will be better comrades to their husbands, better mothers to their children, and better housekeepers of the home, when they get them.

## THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S FRANCHISE PRIOR TO 1906.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE history of women's suffrage prior to 1906 forms a dreary record of disappointed hopes and trust betrayed, but a knowledge of it helps those who work for votes to-day to steer their course. Formerly duly qualified women were voters, but the right fell out of use. Parliament itself did nothing to disfranchise women until 1832, the new rights conferred by the Reform Act of that year being conferred only upon men.

The Parliamentary movement to restore the voting rights of women began when John Stuart Mill entered the House of Commons. He performed what he described as by far his most important public service as a member of Parliament by moving a women's franchise amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867. This amendment was defeated.

The law is that in all Acts of Parliament words importing the masculine gender apply, unless the contrary appears, to women as well as to men. Accordingly, it was considered that, notwithstanding the defeat of Mill's amendment, the word "man" used in the new Act applied as a matter of law to women. The judges decided against this contention, and laid it down as the law of the land that women cannot exercise any public function unless Parliament expressly empowers them to do so.

The next step was to introduce a Women's Franchise Bill. A place for it was secured in the Session of 1870, and the Second Reading was carried by a majority of 31 votes. Upon this, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues in the Government took fright, and called upon their followers to throw out the Bill in Committee. Needless to say, they were obeyed. In succeeding Sessions the Bill made even less progress.

During those years women's suffrage societies were formed, petitions signed, meetings held. From that day up to the birth of the present movement women suffragists have continued to work steadily, earnestly, *patiently*, for their rights.

It is said that more persons have petitioned for women's suffrage than have petitioned for any other reform. In 1896, a petition bearing 257,000 signatures was presented, while in 1901 and 1902 67,000 women textile workers adopted the same means of claiming the franchise.

### Women's Suffrage as Part of a Larger Measure?

At the present time, we are often assured that our chance of getting the vote will come when a general extension of the franchise takes place. The fate of Mill's amendment of 1867 has been alluded to. Let us see how the women's claim was treated when last the franchise was extended. In preparation for the Reform Bill of 1884, women demonstrated and agitated with renewed vigour. In every great town in the United Kingdom they held large meetings to demand the vote. Favourable promises from M.P.'s were many. They had great hope.

The Liberal Government introduced the Reform Bill in a form applying only to men. A women's franchise amendment was strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who refused to proceed further with his Bill if the amendment should be carried. The usual result followed, and women were again sacrificed to the selfish demand of the Liberal leader.

The liberty-loving Liberals once more displayed their sense of justice as regards women by introducing in 1894 a Registration Bill for the benefit of men only. Notice was given of a women's suffrage amendment. The Bill was withdrawn. So much for past attempts to carry votes for women as "part of a larger measure."

## THE NEXT STEP TO ADULT SUFFRAGE.

By Mrs. C. DESPARD, I.L.P., and S.D.F.

I HAVE been for years, and am still, a strong Adult Suffragist. I hold that nothing short of Adult Suffrage can possibly be right for a country professing to be democratic in government, and I believe that not until we have Adult Suffrage shall we obtain the necessary reforms in the laws and administration of the country. It is because I believe to-day that the removal of the sex disqualification for the franchise is the next and most urgent step in the direction of Adult Suffrage that I am heart and soul with the movement of the W.S.P.U. in favour of that reform.

I have not always held that opinion. Up till the summer of 1906, I worked only with the Adult Suffrage Societies, believing that the lesser was included in the larger. The reasons for my change to my present attitude were as follows :

In the first place, I became gradually convinced that a large proportion of the members of the Adult Suffrage societies were not merely half-hearted and without any real hope of success, but were in many cases actually dishonest in their alleged desire to extend the franchise to women. And I realised that if ever the demand for Adult Suffrage came near to practicable fulfilment, a compromise on the lines of Manhood Suffrage only would in the end be effected, and that then the likelihood of a subsequent extension of the franchise to women would be almost hopeless.

Secondly, I had been wont to regard the Women's Suffrage Movement as a purely middle-class agitation; but contact with working women in Lancashire and elsewhere had been gradually teaching me that this view was no longer correct, and that there were a very large number of working women keenly anxious to obtain their political rights.

Thirdly, from my knowledge of the industrial conditions of the people, I knew that the removal of the sex disqualification would enfranchise great numbers of working women. In Lancashire there are enormous numbers of cases in which young working women, either alone or two or three together, are the responsible occupiers of the house in which they live; and throughout the country widows of the working classes, to a far greater number than is usually recognised, are in the same position. Moreover, the "latch key" decision, while it has enabled almost any man who takes the trouble to get placed on the Register (and has thereby diminished the impetus for Adult Suffrage), would open the way for a great number of women in the poorest circumstances to become enfranchised if the Bill for the Removal of Sex Disqualification were carried into law. (See page 107).

I know the absolute necessity to working women to possess the vote both directly to better their own social conditions, and indirectly to be educated through their citizen rights to a greater political and economic independence, and I am convinced that nothing but the vote will lighten the awful burden which at present rests upon the working women of this country.



*Photo by Parke, 89, Fleet St.*

**MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.**

**The originator of the militant tactics at present adopted by the suffragettes.**

**Full biography on page 159.**

## SOME NOTABLE WOMEN.

### Miss TERESA BILLINGTON.

Born in Blackburn, 1887. Daughter of shipping clerk in large foundry. Educated in convent school, but at 13 set to work to learn millinery. At 17 became a monitor, and carried off one of the Queen's scholarships. Appointed teacher under the Manchester Town Council, and passed two certificate examinations. Placed in charge of the "Equal Pay League," an organisation formed to demand the same salaries for women teachers as for men. Joined I.L.P., and became one of the National Organisers. In autumn, 1905, organised municipal campaign in Manchester. December, 1905, questioned C.B. in the Albert Hall on votes for women, and was ejected. Worked for Philip Snowden and J. W. Taylor at the General Election. April, 1906, became organiser for the W.S.P.U.; took a leading part in the deputation to C.B. and Asquith. Sent to prison for two months, but released after a week. Carried on active campaign at Cocker-mouth, East Fife, and other places. Arrested October 23rd in connection with House of Commons demonstration, and



sent to prison for two months. (Character sketch, *Labour Record*, July, 1906.)

On going to prison she sent the following message:—

"Outlaws must be rebels until their outlawry is removed."

### Miss EVA GORE BOOTH.

Born Lissadell, Ireland. Daughter of the late Sir Henry Gore Booth. Came to Manchester to work for the enfranchisement of women. Became secretary



of the Women's Trade Union Council, 1901, president of the Manchester and Salford Association of Patent Cop Winders, Bobbin and Hank Winders, Gassers, Doublers, and Reelers, and co-secretary of the Women's Textile Representation Committee. Part of her speech on the occasion of the deputation to C.B. will be found on page 146. Organised Cradley Heath, and found that many of these women were earning from 2s. 6d. to 5s. only per week. Author of "Women Workers and Parliamentary Representation," "First Catch your Hare," and "To the Working Women." Has also written several volumes of poetry.

### Mrs. ANNIE COBDEN-SANDERSON.

Annie Cobden born at Dunford, Midhurst, Sussex, her father being the well-known Anti-Corn Law agitator. Early became friend of William Morris and Burne-Jones. 1882 married Mr. Sanderson, who is at present known as carrying on the Morris Book-binding. Joined I.L.P., and became treasurer of the Metropolitan District Council, and is well



known in all Socialist circles. Keen believer in Woman Suffrage; did not take any active part in propaganda until formation of W.S.P.U., but since then has placed it in the forefront. The story of the demonstration at the House of Commons, in which she took a prominent part, and of her subsequent arrest and imprisonment, will be found in the introductory article on page 145. (Character sketch in *Labour Record*, November, 1906.) On going to prison she sent the following message:—

"I am thankful to suffer these two months' imprisonment, because I know it is helping our poor sisters who are dumb under their suffering."

### Mrs. DESPARD.

Charlotte French was born in 1844 in Edinburgh, her father being one of a naval family. She married in 1870 Mr. Despard, an Irishman, and during the early years of her married life wrote a number of works for various magazines, including the "Quiver," "Chambers," the "Graphic," and others, and also produced a book "The Rajah's Heir," dealing with Indian life. 1886 to 1890 spent in travelling, and became deeply interested in social questions. After her husband's death in 1890, identified herself more and more with the



Photo by Parker.]

[89, Fleet Street, E.C.]

interests of the people in her own district of Nine Elms, Battersea. She also became Poor Law Guardian for Kingston-on-Thames. In London she became a friend of the Rev. W. A. Morris, known as the Socialist parson. As a visitor to the Lambeth Workhouse, she was roused to great indignation at the method in

which the inmates were treated, and on this subject she made her first public speech. Appointed on the Lambeth Board of Guardians, and served for five years. Shortly after, joined S.D.F. at Kennington. At the same time built a hall in Wandsworth Road for working men, and became President of the Working Men's Club. At the end of nine years, the lease being up, was obliged to leave. Meanwhile, she had founded a boy's club in Nine Elms, and about the same time joined I.L.P., lecturing for both Socialist bodies, and also for the Labour Church. Became a school manager, paying special attention to the feeding of children. She has a dispensary of her own, originally intended for children, but to which adults are admitted. She finds extraordinarily satisfactory results attending the care of children, and believes this scheme is capable of very wide extension, both of individual and national effort. Was a Member of the Board of Guardians for a year, but resigned, as she found she stood absolutely alone. Has come more and more to feel the hopelessness of women's work until they obtain the vote. Joined the Women's Social and Political Union in August, 1906. Became temporary secretary during the imprisonment of Mrs. Martyn. Article by her on page 153.

### Miss MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

Born January 12th, 1881, in Leeds. Went to voluntary school; became a pupil teacher at the age of 13, and from that date has kept herself. Took First



Photo by Gothard.]

[Leeds.

Class King's Scholarship at 18, and admitted to the University of Leeds, but was unable to attend classes. Took the certificate examination "out of college"

—teaching by day and studying by night—and obtained a Double First. Joined the Leeds Labour Church (affiliated to the I.L.P.), representing it on the local L.R.C. Worked on the Leeds Committee for the Feeding of School Children. In 1904 elected on to the committee of the Leeds National Union of Teachers. In 1906 elected by the University Committee as a woman Labour delegate to the University Extension Committee. In the same year vice-president of the Leeds I.L.P., counsel to the N.F.A.T. of Nottingham, and secretary of the Women's Labour League, resigning latter position to become Organiser for the W.S.P.U. In the latter capacity she conducted the fight in Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, and other places, and also in Mid-Glamorgan, where she succeeded in breaking up Mr. Samuel Evans' meetings as a protest against his talking out the Women's Suffrage resolution in the House of Commons on April 25th. Took part in the demonstration at the re-opening of Parliament, October 23rd, was arrested and sent to Holloway Gaol for two months on her refusal to be bound over to keep the peace (see page 150). On going to prison she sent the following message:—

"It is not only the vote we are fighting for, but everything that is involved in giving the vote to the women of England."

### Miss ANNIE KENNEY.

Born at Lees, near Oldham, 1880. At 10 years old went to work and became a "little tenter" in a textile factory;



four years later a "big tenter." Conducted a regular literary campaign among her workmates. The works being

closed, she was unemployed for 15 months; taken on at the end of that time, and agitated among her workmates for better wages. Sat on the district committee for her trade union. Became interested in the suffrage, and accepted post of Organiser of the W.S.P.U. With Miss Pankhurst, interrupted Sir Edward Grey's meeting, October, 1905, and went to prison for three days. The story of the visit to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith, for which she suffered six weeks' imprisonment, and her further imprisonment for two months, is told at length in the introductory article. Miss Kenney is extremely popular wherever she speaks, and draws enormous crowds. (Character sketch, *Labour Record*, April, 1906.) On going to prison she sent the following message:—

"This is the third time I have suffered at the hands of the Liberal Government for fighting for political freedom of working women to enable them to defend their industrial position. Good luck to all women!"

### Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Emmeline Pethick was born in Bristol, October 21st, 1867. Went to school in London and Wiesbaden. On her return



Photo by Gothard.]

[Leeds.

entered the West London Mission, working for five years as a sister; subsequently started on independent lines. Founded the Esperance Working Girls' Club and Esperance Co-operative Dress-making Establishment. Took strenuous part in opposition to the South African War. Married F. W. Lawrence (Editor of *Echo*), present Editor of *Labour Record and Review*, and present joint-editor of the *Reformers' Year Book*) in

1901, continuing to devote herself to social work of all kinds. 1905 visited South Africa, forming a close friendship with Olive Schreiner. On her return became hon. treasurer of W.S.P.U. On October 23rd interviewed one of the Liberal Whips as to intention of the Government, and received a message of "No hope." Assisted the subsequent demonstration, and was arrested for standing by Annie Kenney, and sent to prison for two months, when she sent the following message: "Women of England, we are going to prison for you, and therefore we go gladly. We call upon you to take up the standard, and to rally round it and bear it on to victory." After three days, owing to serious illness, the W.S.P.U. insisted upon her giving an undertaking to keep the peace, and being released.

**Mrs. HOW MARTYN.**  
**A.R.C.S., B.Sc.**

Born at Cheltenham; was educated at private school and North London Collegiate School for Girls and at Aberystwyth, where she studied science, and obtained a scholarship to the Royal College of Science, London. Proceeding there she obtained the Associateship of the College in physics and mathematics. Married in 1899; passed the London B.Sc. examination in 1903. Came to live in



London in 1904; was appointed Assistant Mathematical Lecturer at Westfield College. On becoming secretary of the Central Branch of the W.S.P.U., took part in the demonstration at the House of Commons on October 23rd, and was sent to Holloway for two months, sending following message:—

"We demand votes that the homes of the women may be made more what the homes the people of England should be."

**Mrs. PANKHURST.**

Emmeline Goulden was born in Manchester on the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, her father being a great Radical politician, and her grandfather having been at Peterloo, and only just escaped with his life. Went to school in Paris at the Ecole Normale for Girls, where she was room companion of Henri Rochefort's daughter, and became an ardent Republican. Returned to Manchester, and became more and more conscious of the inferior position



*Photo by Parke.]*

[89, Fleet Street, E.C.]

of women. In 1879 met Dr. Pankhurst, who had been a member of the first Women's Suffrage Society (founded by J. S. Mill), and was married to him in the same year. She went on the executive of the Women's Suffrage Society, and on the committee for pushing the Married Woman's Property Bill, originally drafted by Dr. Pankhurst, which subsequently became law. Assisted her husband in 1883 as Independent Radical candidate for Manchester, and, in 1885, as orthodox Radical candidate for Rotherhithe. Came to London in 1886; joined Fabian Society and Holborn Women's Liberal. She remained Liberal till 1892, when she joined I.L.P., and returned to Manchester. In the same year I.L.P. candidate for School Board in Manchester, and was first of defeated candidates. April, 1893, I.L.P. candidate for Guardians, and elected head of the poll, serving five years. 1895, assisted Dr. Pankhurst as I.L.P. candidate for

1889, on the death of Dr. Pank-  
ointed Registrar of Births and  
1900, elected as Trades Council  
to the School Board. Member  
Administrative Council of I.L.P.  
1904/5. Formed W.S.P.U. in  
branch of the Labour move-  
ning forward the question of  
Suffrage at I.L.P. Conferences,  
ouncils, &c., &c. One of the  
minent leaders of the present  
t, and has taken an active part  
is and militant demonstrations.

### Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

September 22nd, 1880. Educated  
till 13, and as a child edited a  
er *The Home News*. Went to  
Southport and Manchester High  
nd, at 16, abroad to a school in  
nd. On the death of her father,  
was 17, assisted her mother in  
heir living. Became member of  
., and commenced work for the  
y sending up resolutions to the  
nference, and assisting in get-  
n carried. In 1901, member of  
of North of England Society  
en's Suffrage, also committee of  
Manchester T.U. Council.  
r, 1903, formed W.S.P.U., and  
esolutions on Women's Suffrage  
Councils all over the country.  
ied to be admitted as a student  
n's Inn. Being refused she spoke  
ion Society of London—the well-  
egal Debating Society—on the  
of the admission of women to  
and carried the Society with  
5, obtained the prize for inter-  
law at Victoria University,  
ollege, Manchester. Originated  
ent militant tactics of the  
1906, took her LL.B., ob-  
Honours, and being bracketed  
head of the list with one  
vas arrested for interrupting  
rd Grey's meeting in Manches-  
ber 13th, 1905, and went to  
r a week. Chief organiser for

W.S.P.U. Took an active part in the  
Cockermouth election, for which an at-  
tempt was made to expel her from the  
Manchester I.L.P. One of the most  
popular speakers on the W.S.P.U. plat-  
form.

### Miss ESTHER ROPER, B.A.

Educated at Owen's College, Manches-  
ter, and took her B.A. in 1891. She be-  
came secretary of the North of England  
Society for Women's Suffrage in 1894.  
For some years Miss Roper's work has  
been chiefly among the textile women  
workers, and women working in other  
trades in Lancashire and Cheshire. It is  
in the industrial aspect of the enfran-



chisement of women that Miss Roper's  
chief interest lies. Secretary of the Lan-  
cashire and Cheshire Women Textile  
Workers' Representation Committee.  
Took part in the deputation to C.B.,  
May 19th, 1905, and in organising Hyde  
Park meeting on May 20th, and Trafalgar  
Square meeting November 4th.

### MAZZINI ON WOMAN'S FRANCHISE.

Do you doubt how eagerly I watch from afar, and how heartily I bless the  
brave, earnest British women who are striving for the extension of  
age to their sex? Is not the idea of the equality of man and woman  
every logical and fearless man who strives for the equality of any class  
of mankind?  
Our question less sacred than that of the abolition of slavery in America,  
freedom elsewhere?  
Is it not to be even more sacred to us in reverence for our mothers, and if  
nber that the most important period of human life—the first—is entrusted  
1?" (*From a letter written in 1870*).

## THE SWEATING EXHIBITION.

BY EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

WITH a view to illustrating the appalling length which sweating has reached in our modern civilisation, a Sweating Exhibition was organised by the *Daily News* at the Queen's Hall during the month of May. Not only were there a large number of exhibits of articles manufactured under sweated conditions, but the actual process was in many cases illustrated by the presence of the actual women themselves performing the work of their trade in public. One of the facts that was brought out by the Exhibition was that a great deal of comparatively skilled work is paid for at sweated rates. Thus in one instance the woman engaged in sewing a fur coat, which when complete would fetch 50 guineas or more—the work requiring considerable skill and manipulation in handling valuable material—demonstrated that by working at her greatest rapidity, she could only just earn a penny an hour. Other exhibits were shirt making, sack making, umbrella covering, button-hole making, box making, racquet and tennis ball covering, &c., &c., through a long and appalling list.

The statement is sometimes made that Tom Hood's "Song of the Shirt" is now out of date, but the miserable pittance obtained by the sweated workers in this trade to-day—working out at from 1d. to 1½d. per



Doll Making.

hour—prove that so far from being exaggerated the facts are only too true to-day. One woman, with whom I am personally acquainted, worked at making shoes, joining uppers to the soles, for which she received 10d. a dozen.

he is a skilled and practised hand. She sews the uppers to the soles, and puts in the socks. It is very hard work. The soles are not made of leather, but of composite, and sometimes break away from the stitches; but any work



Match and Tin Tack Box Making.

not perfect is returned on her hands. She has to find her needles, which cost a penny each and often break, also thread and paste, and take her work to and from the shop, often waiting for hours before she gets the new supply. After the shoes are sewn, they have to be blocked and hammered. She keeps all the hammering till night because that keeps her awake. She would drop asleep over the sewing. She never leaves off till 12 o'clock at night, and up as soon as it is light. She has 4s. from the parish, 1s. for each child—this pays the rent of the small room, and leaves 6d. over. For food and clothing, fire and light for the family, she has what she makes by her labour, namely, about 5s. a week working 14 hours a day. She stated that the price paid for her work was until recently one shilling a dozen, and previously to that 1s. 3d., so that her wages have been reduced nearly one-half during the last few years. This tendency seems to be borne out in the great majority of sweated work done in London and elsewhere.

Following upon this Exhibition a large gathering representative of various societies of women and other Trade Unionists, was held in the Guildhall, on October 23rd, 24th, and 25th. The only concrete proposal put forward was that in favour of a minimum wage, which was carried at the close of the meeting.

As to the remedy which is to cure the evil of the sweating of women, it is not one remedy alone, but a far-reaching change of social system which can remove that hideous wrong. Toward this, the vote is the first step.

## SOCIETIES FOR WOMEN'S WORK.

### WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

*Chairman* : Miss Gertrude Tuckwell. *Secretary* : Miss Mary R. MacArthur.  
*Offices* : Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C. *Legal Secretary* :  
 Miss Sophy Sanger. *Treasurer* : D. J. Shackleton, M.P.

THE League is a federation of affiliated Unions of those trades in which women are employed. Nearly 100 Societies are affiliated, with a membership of about 75,000. All secretaries of affiliated Trade Unions are ex-officio members of the League Executive Committee.

**Organisation.**—The League sends organisers to any London or provincial district to form new or strengthen existing Trade Unions. Its policy is to organise women in the same Union with men in the same trade. Where this is impracticable it is thought desirable that any women's Union should be as closely as possible connected with that of the men, if one exists.

**Work of the Year.**—During the year the following additional societies have affiliated to the League : London Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, Great Harwood Weavers' Association, Padiham Weavers' Association, North-east Lancashire C. and B. Operatives, Dundee and District Union of Jute and Flax Workers, Leek Women Workers' Union, Edinburgh, Paisley, Preston, Halstead Branches National Federation of Women Workers. It is estimated roughly that there has been an increase of 11,000 in affiliated membership, including an increase of about 7,000 converts to Trade Unionism, for which the League is directly responsible.

In addition to the direct work of organising, Miss Tuckwell and Miss MacArthur assisted in the *Daily News* Sweated Industries Exhibition, as an outcome of which the Anti-Sweating League to secure a Minimum Wage in Sweated Industries was formed, and on October 23rd, 24th, and 25th, a conference of Trade Union, Labour, and Socialist organisations was held, at which a resolution in favour of a Minimum Wage was carried.

**Legal Advice.**—The Legal Advice Department, under Miss Sanger, took up a number of cases of workmen's compensation and secured sums ranging from £15 to £190. Nearly every case was successful, and a specially large number of complaints of breaches of industrial laws were received during the year, and after being carefully sifted were sent to the proper authorities. Among the worst were complaints relating to the long hours and bad conditions of laundries.

### THE WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

*Gen. Sec.* : Miss Wyatt Papworth, M.A., 7, John Street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C.

**Objects.**—(1) The collection and publication of trustworthy information about the conditions of women's work. (2) The preparation of legal and statistical matter of various kinds, the drafting of Parliamentary Bills, &c., and the remedying of general industrial conditions by taking up complaints and reporting them to factory inspectors and other authorities.

Among the various activities of the Council during the year have been the following : The Association of Trained Charwomen, the Girls' Club Library, the Picture Lending Library, the Physical Drill Classes, the Legal and Investigation and Education Committees, and a large list of lectures. Publications will be found among those on page 235.

## INDUSTRIAL LAW COMMITTEE.

*Chairman* : Mrs. H. J. Tennant. *Hon. Sec.* : Miss Gertrude Tuckwell.  
*Sec.* : Miss Edith Maynard. *Offices* : York Mansion, York Street, S.W.

**Objects.**—To supply information as to the legal protection of the industrial classes with regard to the conditions of their trade by means of correspondence, lectures, and printed matter, to district visitors, settlement workers, and others working among the people. The Committee also inquires into reported breaches of the law, and refers them to the proper authorities. It endeavours to promote further legislation and the more effective administration of the existing law. In very many cases the workpeople are afraid of giving truthful evidence to the inspectors, as it may result in dismissal. The recognition of this fact led to the foundation of the Indemnity Fund, which is administered by the Committee, and of which Lord Lytton is the hon. secretary.

## SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR WOMEN'S TRADES.

*Honorary President* : The Countess of Aberdeen. *Chairman of Executive Committee* : Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. *General Secretary* : Miss Irwin. *Office* : 58, Renfield Street, Glasgow.

**Objects.**—The objects of the Council, as of the Women's Industrial Council are to improve the conditions of employment among women and children, to furnish statistics and general information, and to promote industrial and sanitary legislation. The Council also organises lectures on Social and Labour questions.

## THE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

*Pres.* : Mrs. Carr (Stockton). *Vice-President* : Mrs. Hodgett (Lincoln).  
*Treas.* : Mrs. Bury (Darwin). *Gen. Sec.* : Miss Llewelyn Davies, Kirby Lonsdale, Westmorland.

**Objects.**—The Guild is a self-governing organisation of working women connected with Industrial Co-operative Societies. During the past year 40 new branches have been formed, and 1,500 new members have joined, bringing up the number of branches to 425, with a total membership of 22,077 women. Two women have seats on the Central Board of the Co-operative Union, and there are 40 women on Management Committees, and 306 on Educational Committees.

**Its Work.**—The extension of Co-operation in the poorest districts of towns has been strongly advocated by the Guild for several years. The fund raised to commemorate the coming-of-age of the Guild to be used to promote this work in suitable districts. An active agitation is being carried on against the system of credit in Co-operative Societies.

The Guild is this year continuing its campaign in support of the Enfranchisement of Women, the position taken being that as it is mainly composed of married working women, the Guild could only be satisfied with a measure which would enfranchise this class of women. But while womanhood (and therefore adult) suffrage is its goal, the Guild leaves itself free to support any measure which would be a step in this direction.

Other subjects taken up by the Guild are the Provision of Medical Aid by Co-operative Societies, Consultations for Mothers and Babies, Sweated Industries, and Women and Local Government.

The "History of the Guild" may be obtained from the General Secretary, price (cloth) 1s. 3d. (paper) 8½d., post free.



## INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

*President*: The Countess of Aberdeen. *Vice-Presidents*: Frau Marie Stritt, Fru Anna Hieta-Retzius, Madame Jules Siegfried. *Treasurer*: Mrs. W. E. Sanford. *Recording Secretary*: Miss Martina Kramers. *Corresponding Secretary*: Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S., 1, Rubislaw Terrace, Aberdeen, Scotland.

**Objects.**—(a) To provide a means of communication between womens organisations in all countries. (b) To provide opportunities for women to meet together from all parts of the world to confer upon questions relating to the welfare of the commonwealth, the family, and the individual.

During the year, various sub-committees have met and discussed means of dealing internationally with questions relating to women, including industrial laws, the care of children, promotion of public health, &c. The president in her address referred to the death of Susan B. Anthony the veteran suffragist. The Norwegian Secretary reported that women were now serving on juries in that country, and that 295,000 women signed a memorial in favour of the dissolution of the union with Sweden, the number corresponding very nearly to the number of votes given by the men—368,311.

## WOMEN'S POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

### WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

#### HON. SECRETARY:

†\*Mrs. Edith H. Martyn, B.Sc., 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

#### HON. TREASURER:—

†\*Mrs. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, 87, Clement's Inn, W.C.

#### ORGANISERS:—

†\*Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

†\*Miss Teresa Billington, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

†\*Miss Annie Kenney, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

†\*Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe, 9, Warrels Mount, Bramley, Leeds.

†\*Miss Fraser, 114, West Campbell St., Glasgow.

\*Mrs. M. Baldock, 33, Oak Crescent, Barking Rd., E.

\*Mrs. M. Chatterton, 3, Mildred St., Lower Broughton, Manchester.

\*Mrs. M. Mitchell, 43, Elizabeth St., Ashton-under-Lyne.

\*Miss Milne, 38, Southern St., Seedley, Manchester.

†\*Mrs. Pankhurst, 60, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

\*Mrs. Flora Drummond, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

†\*Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 120, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.

†\*Miss Adela Pankhurst, 60, Upper Brook St., Manchester.

†\*Mrs. Nellie Alma Martel, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

†\*Mrs. Pearce, 114, West Campbell St., Glasgow.

†\*Mrs. Despard, 2, Currie St., Nine Elms, London, S.W.

Mrs. Mabel Tuke, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C.

#### LOCAL BRANCHES:—

\*Ashton-under-Lyne: Mrs. M. Mitchell, 43, Elizabeth St.

Battersea: Miss Fitz-Herbert, 9, Cambridge Mansions.

Blackburn: Mrs. A. Duxbury, 7, Langham Rd.

Bolton: Miss Collinge, 10, Bury New Rd.

Bow and Poplar: Mrs. Corderey, 74, Devas St.

\*Canning Town: Mrs. Knight, 71, New City Rd., Plaistow, Essex.

**Cardiff** : Mrs. Schofield, 73, Malefant St.  
**†Cheltenham** : Mrs. Earengay, B.A., 3, Wellington Sq., Cheltenham.  
**Croydon** : Miss D. M. Simmons, B.A., 5, Heathfield Rd., Croydon.  
**Dumbarton** : Mrs. Annie R. Craig, 1, Roundriding Rd.  
**Dundee** : Miss Wilkie, 101, Rosebery St.  
**East Ham** : Mrs. Newman, 150, Green St., Forest Gate.  
**Edinburgh** : Mrs. Grant, 108, George St.  
**Forest Gate** : Mrs. Gough, 2, Wellington Rd.  
**Glasgow** : Mrs. Elizabeth Pollok, 152, Broomfield Springburn.  
**Hemsworth** : Mrs. Goddard, 7, Centre St.  
**Kensal Rise** : Mrs. Cullen, 21, Campden House Rd., Kensington, W.  
**Liverpool** : Miss Labouchere, 251, Upper Parliament St.  
**London City Branch** : Miss J. Kenney, 87, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.  
**Long Eaton** : Miss Bullock, Adsett Cottage, College St.  
**Manchester** : Miss Alice Milne, 116, Portland St.  
**\*Middlesbrough** : Miss Marion Coates Hansen, Oakdene, Phillips Avenue, Linthorpe, Middlesbrough.  
**Oldham** : Miss Ogden, 137, Waterloo St., Oldham.  
**Sheffield** : Mrs. Whitworth, Wath St.  
**St. Pancras** : Miss Rozier, 91, Bartholomew Rd., Camden Rd., N.W.  
**Tottenham** : Miss Self, 27, Varty Road, Stamford Hill.  
**Upton Park** : Mrs. Muspratt, Railway Dining Rooms.  
**Westminster** : Mrs. Montefiore, 8, Westminster Mansions.

\* Denotes Speakers. † Writers

## NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

*Treasurers* : Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Mrs. Eva M'Laren. *Secretaries* : Miss Edith Palliser, Miss Frances Sterling. *Offices* : 25, Victoria Street.

### Central Society for Women's Suffrage.

*President* : The Lady Frances Balfour. *Chairman of Committee* : Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. *Hon. Treasurer* : Miss McKee. *Secretary* : Miss Edith Palliser. *Office* : 25, Victoria Street, S.W.

**Objects.**—The Society is organised to secure the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women, and advances the claim that as the work contributed by women to the State increases year by year the artificial disqualification which now renders that work more difficult should be swept away. It seeks to obtain the franchise on the same lines as it is, or may be, granted to men, and is persistent in memorialising Members of Parliament and forming committees and societies in its area of work. A conference of M.P.'s favourable to Women's Suffrage is usually held at the commencement of the annual session, to promote the introduction of a Bill or Resolution.

The work of the Union has progressed rapidly during the year. On February 14th 40 members of the Union were present at the conference in the House of Commons. On May 19th Miss Emily Davies represented the Union in the deputation to the Prime Minister. Following upon this the Executive determined to start a fund to carry on special work in constituencies represented by opponents of Women's Suffrage. The Scottish Women Graduates' appeal was supported by various societies affiliated to the Union. Representatives also attended the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen. In the campaign of meetings throughout the Kingdom many hundreds of meetings have been held, and the Union has received an unprecedented demand for speakers and literature from other bodies.

## ADULT SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

*President* : Miss M. G. Bondfield, 122, Gower Street, W.C. *Vice-President* : Mrs. H. Jennie Baker, 24, Victoria Avenue, Stockton-on-Tees. *General Secretary* : Mrs. M. G. Godden, 48, Norfolk House Road, Streatham, London, S.W. *General Treasurer* : Mr. Frank Rose, 399, Stretford Road, Manchester.

**Objects.**—(1) To focus opinion on the question of Adult Suffrage. (2) To secure the rights of citizenship to every adult man and woman.

Meetings have been addressed during the year throughout the country by the President, Treasurer, General Secretary, and other members of the Committee, at which the aims and objects of the Society have been cordially indorsed.

## WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY.

*Pres.* : Lady Strachey. *Chairman of Committee* : Lady Strachey. *Hon. Sec.* : Miss Leigh Browne. *Hon. Treas.* : Lady Lockyer. *Assist. Sec.* : Miss Berry. *Office* : 17, Tothill St., Westminster, S.W.

THE Society is independent of political parties, and its object is the promotion of the legal eligibility of women (a) to elect (b) to serve on all local governing bodies.

The principal event of the year was the deputation to the Prime Minister, on May 19th, when the following statement by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was made :—

“There is one point, I am told, I ought to have referred to, and that is to express the sympathy not only of myself but of the Government, with the Women's Qualification Bill, and the desire we have that women should be restored to all the old rights that they enjoyed in regard to Local Government, and that those rights should be added to in any direction that reason and justice require.”

The Society hoped that this sympathy would have been carried into practical effect by passing the “Enabling Bill” in time for the Triennial Elections for the County Council, but they have been doomed to disappointment.

## NATIONAL WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE.

*Pres.* : Mrs. J. R. Macdonald. *Hon. Sec.* : Mrs. F. Macpherson, B.A., 34, St. Thomas's Mansions, Westminster Bridge, London.

**Objects.**—To form an organisation of women to work for independent Labour Representation in connection with the Labour Party, and to obtain direct Labour Representation of women in Parliament and on all local bodies.

**Methods.**—The members of the Society will work with the Labour Party locally and nationally, and will help Labour candidates in local and Parliamentary elections. They will educate themselves on political and social questions by means of meetings, discussions, distribution of leaflets, &c. They will take an active interest in the work of the Poor Law Guardians, Educational bodies, Distress Committees, Registration of Voters, Town, District, and County Councillors, and Members of Parliament. They will work to secure the full rights of citizenship for all women and men. They will watch the interests of working women in their own neighbourhood, and strive, where possible, to improve their social and industrial conditions.

The National Women's Labour League was formed in March, 1906, and held its first conference in the Co-operative Hall, Leicester, on June 21st. The Constitution was discussed and agreed to in the form above. A number of meetings have been held in various parts of the country, and some seats on Boards of Guardians have been successfully contested by women.

## INDUSTRIAL LAWS SPECIALLY RELATING TO WOMEN.

The century 1802-1901 is precisely co-terminous with the whole body of industrial laws relating to women, from the Act of George III., for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices in certain mills and factories, to the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, which is virtually a complete and extended code of all their surviving provisions. A most important part of this code consists of special rules as to employment in dangerous trades under the Factory and Workshop Acts of 1891, 1895, and 1901.

### Special Provisions.

Special provisions relating to women above the age of 18 years are classified under three heads (which, however, continually trench upon or coincide with each other): (1) health, (2) safety, (3) hours of employment. The industries to which they mainly apply, with certain variations, are: (1) Textile, (2) non-textile, and (3) laundries.

**Textile Factory** is one where mechanical power is used in connection with the manufacture of cotton, wool, hair, silk, flax, hemp, and the like.

**Non-Textile factories** include printworks, bleaching and dyeing, paper-milling, fustian-cutting, letterpress printing, bookbinding works; earthenware, lucifer-match, percussion-cap, cartridge, glass, metal, and india-rubber works; copper, iron, paper and flax scutch mills; blast furnaces, foundries, electro factories, electrical stations, &c.

**Workshop** is a place, not being a factory, where numerous processes are carried on.

**Health.**—(a) A woman must not be employed except with special precautions where wet spinning is carried on;

(b) A woman, with certain exceptions, must not, during meal-times, be employed or remain in a room where any manufacturing process is being carried on;

(c) A woman must not, without a medical examination and certificate, be employed in works where lead, arsenic, or antimony is used in enamelling iron plates, nor, without monthly examinations, be employed in a number of processes of earthenware and china manufacture, &c.;

(d) A woman must not be employed at all in the mixing of unfritted lead compounds, nor be employed in any work, nor allowed in any place exposing her to any white lead dust, nor be employed in any process, nor allowed in any mixing or casting shop of brass, gun metal, bell metal, white metal, &c., unless in a place entirely partitioned off;

(e) No girl under the age of 18 years must be employed at all where the melting or annealing of glass is carried on;

(f) No girl under 16 years must be employed at all in any factory or workshop where the making or finishing of bricks or salt is carried on;

(g) A woman must not take her meals or remain during meal-times in certain parts of glass, lucifer-match, and earthenware works, and numerous others specified in a special order of March 23rd, 1898;

(h) A woman must not be employed within four weeks of child-birth.

**Safety.**—A woman must not be allowed to clean machinery in motion, nor work between the fixed and traversing part of self-acting power machines in motion.

### Textile Factories.

**Hours.**—Women may only be employed in a period of 12 hours (of which two hours must be allowed for meals), either between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., or between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. One hour for meals must be given before 3 p.m. Women must not be employed for more than four hours and a half without an interval of half-an-hour for a meal (except in factories for elastic web, ribbon and trimming, between November 1st and March 31st, when they may be worked five hours continuously; and except when the Home Secretary on certain proofs specially permits). The meal times must be at the same hour each day. On Saturday, if work begins at 6 a.m., and if one hour be allowed for meals, manufacturing processes must cease at noon, and all other work at 12-30. If less than one hour be given for meals manufacturing processes cease at 11-30, and all other work at noon. If work on Saturday begins at 7 a.m., manufacturing processes must cease at 12-30 p.m., and all other work at 1 p.m.

**Holidays.**—Women must not be employed on Sunday. They have as holidays: Christmas day, Good Friday, and Bank Holidays. The employer may substitute another whole holiday or two half-holidays for any of these, except that half the holiday time must be between March 15th and October 1st.

**Overtime.**—In factories driven by water (textile or non-textile) an extra hour's employment of women is allowed to recover time lost by stoppage on 96 days in the year in case of drought and 48 days in case of flood. Overtime is also allowed in such parts of a textile factory as are only used for packing, &c. There are special provisions for employment on Saturdays by Jewish occupiers, and for employment of Jewish women on Sundays.

### Non-textile Factories.

**Hours.**—The hours are the same as in textile factories, with the following exceptions: The period of employment may be between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m., or, by order of the Home Secretary, between 9 a.m. and 9 p.m. On Saturday, if work begins at 6 a.m., it must cease at 2 p.m., if it begins at 7 a.m. it must cease at 3 p.m., and if at 8 or 9 a.m. must cease at 4 p.m. If the working hours have not exceeded eight in any day in the week, they may be extended to eight on Saturday. One hour and a half (of which one hour must be before 3 p.m.) must be allowed for meals; women must not be employed more than five hours without an interval of half-an-hour for a meal.

**Holidays** are the same as in textile factories, and the same provisions regarding Jewish occupiers of factories and Jewish women are in force.

**Overtime.**—The following exceptions apply to certain non-textile factories: Women may be employed for 14 hours, of which two hours must be given for meals (including half-an-hour after 5 p.m.), between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m., 7 a.m. and 9 p.m., or 8 a.m. and 10 p.m. for not more than three days in a week, on 30 days of the year, and, in factories for fruit-preserving, fish-preserving, and condensed milk, for not more than 50 days in a year. An extra 30 minutes is allowed where a process is incomplete, and as much longer as is necessary in Turkey-red dyeing and open-air bleaching. There are further special exceptions as to fish and also as to fruit from June to September, and as to creameries. The Home Secretary has large powers of extending the exceptions by special order. For workshops the regulations are virtually the same as for non-textile factories.

### Laundries.

Women's work is limited to 14 hours a day, and 60 hours a week, except on *three days a week on 30 days in the year.*

# CO-OPERATION.

BY W. HENRY BROWN.

THE most conspicuous event in the past year was the death of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, the historian of the Co-operative movement, the apostle of its ideals, and the last link with Owen. For years beyond the reach of most delegates to our Congresses, he had been an acknowledged leader, ever battling for the Co-partnership side of Co-operation, to which he adhered with fervour to the last. His tolerant attitude in debate, his rigid regard for accuracy in statement, and the high moral tone with which he invested his presentation of the case for Co-operation, were aspects of his character which shone forth in seventy years of controversy in all the fields of reform of the nineteenth century. Co-operators do not forget their great men, and Holyoake was one of their greatest of faithful leaders.

## DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATION.

BRINGING together the figures that have appeared in previous issues of the *Reformers' Year Book* with those for the last year obtainable, we get the following interesting comparison with regard to distributive societies:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Number of Members.	Sales.	Profits.	Share Capital.	Number of Employés.	Assets.
			£	£	£		£
1905	1,457	2,153,185	61,086,991	9,559,238	26,077,174	72,712	35,249,964
1904	1,469	2,078,178	59,311,934	9,411,348	25,139,504	69,956	32,910,246
1903	1,481	1,987,768	57,512,917	8,993,562	24,217,134	66,102	31,437,705

While a few weak societies have gone under, the real cause of the decrease in the number of societies is due to the tendency for amalgamation that has lately been noted. Membership and sales have increased, but the difficulties of business are indicated in the lessened rate of advance, so far as profits are concerned. The assets include land, buildings, stocks, houses, investments, and £861,651 owing to societies for goods at the end of the year—representing a lapse from first principles to the tune of nearly a million, and proving the need for the anti-credit campaign of the Women's Guild. This growth of the credit system—the debts were only £771,778 in 1903—is a matter of regret. The salaries and wages paid by the distributive societies totalled £2,990,697 last year, and of the employés 19,456 were engaged in productive work, such as bread-making and the like; £81,747 were spent on educational purposes, and £39,084 went to charitable accounts.

With regard to the year 1906, the outstanding feature in connection with distributive societies was the growing attention given to laundry work as finding a means of employment for women and girls, and an outlet for Co-operative

capital. In England, the Bradford society was the first to establish a laundry. For the half-year ending September 25th, 1906, the takings of this department were £3,788, giving a profit of 3s. 5d. in the £ on sales. In Lancashire a federal laundry is in contemplation, and the Burnley, Accrington, Colne, and other societies are giving the subject attention, while the matter is being made the subject of conferences on the north-east coast.

In London, efforts are being directed to establish a Middle Class Co-operative Store, and an agitation for a Co-operative café has brought to light a Co-operative public-house, the "Red Lion," near Piccadilly Circus, the shareholders in the owning society being chiefly hotel waiters in the locality. The Joint Committee of Co-operators and Trade Unions has been able to settle some disputes between Co-operative Societies and their employés. In connection with this matter, mention may be made of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés, which now numbers 383 branches and 13,203 members, mostly the workers in distributive stores. The contributions amount to £11,000 a year, and the Union—of which Mr. A. Hewitt, Co-operative News Buildings, Long Millgate, Manchester, is secretary—had a balance in June, 1906, of over £20,000.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

*General Secretary* : J. C. Gray, J.P. *Central Offices* : 2, Nicholas Croft, High Street, Manchester.

The Co-operative Union is an organisation of the various forms of associated trading registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies' Act. It has 1,230 societies in membership, their adherents aggregating 2,115,995, or 93·6 per cent. of the total number of Co-operators in the country. In addition to sustaining the propaganda work in districts as yet untouched by Co-operation, the Union pays special attention to matters of importance to the movement, and has special committees to deal with (a) Education, (b) Production, (c) International and Foreign Inquiries, (d) Propaganda of a joint character with the Co-operative Wholesale Society, (e) the relations of societies to Trade Unions, (f) Parliamentary affairs, (g) Exhibitions, and (h) Co-operative Defence, this latter committee having come into existence in consequence of recent attacks on Co-operators at St. Helens and elsewhere in the north.

In connection with the Annual Congress the Co-operative Union comes most prominently before the public.

### The Congress of 1906

was held at Birmingham, Mr. J. C. Gray being the President, and delivering the inaugural address to the 1,464 delegates. He asked whether the time had not come for a blending of some of the old ideals with the newer methods, and proposed that all the individual members of the Co-operative body should be brought into one National Union of Co-operation, this becoming a Co-operative State administered by a general council of, say, 150 members elected on a thoroughly representative basis. It would take over all existing societies, while not more than half the profits would be allowed to be paid out to individual members, while the other moiety would be regularly added to the accumulated funds of the society for the further extension and development of Co-operative ideas and aims. The scheme of centralisation propounded by Mr. Gray is now being discussed at sectional conferences throughout the country.

Resolutions were adopted at the Congress placing on record a high appreciation of the life and work of the late G. J. Holyoake, whose memory is to be

perpetuated by a building bearing his name to be erected as a habitation for the head-quarters of the movement; congratulating the movement on the union of the Co-operative Wholesale Society with the Co-partnership societies in the National Festival at the Crystal Palace; advocating the simultaneous promotion of agricultural and distributive Co-operation in rural districts; referring to the Central Board the question of Co-operative Banking, with a view to a report for the Congress at Preston in 1907; commending the North Wales Quarries, Ltd., to societies for support in capital and trade; and hoping that Co-operative Societies would use their local influence to secure that new building areas are laid out on proper lines.

### **Parliamentary Representation Rejected.**

One of the most important discussions at Congress centred round the question of Parliamentary representation which has been before the delegates for a decade. At the Congress at Perth a resolution was carried in favour; but little practical support was given the proposal and at Birmingham the following resolution was carried by 769 votes to 327: "That, inasmuch as there is no evidence that the movement is prepared to support direct representation in Parliament with the necessary financial assistance, the subject be now dropped." And there the matter will remain for a while.

As is usually the case, an Exhibition of Co-operative Productions was held in connection with the Congress, being declared open by the Right Rev. Dr. Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, who expressed the hope that that display and the Sweating Exhibition then in progress in London might be brought together, for in the former might be found a remedy for the state of things revealed in the latter.

## **INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.**

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.—*Secretary*: Miss J. Halford, 22, Red Lion Square, W.C.

In the 1905 issue of the *Year Book* a complete characterisation of the different forms of Co-operation in all the countries of the world was given. Since then the work of the International Co-operative Alliance has developed, and its organisation is becoming complete. A useful interchange of ideas has taken place between the Co-operators of various countries, who have been able to learn much from each other. On the Continent the profits are more generally disposed to some common purpose than is the case here, for the principle of "Each for all" is almost universal. In England we tone its significance down somewhat with the qualifying phrase "All for each." In Germany a Co-operative Wholesale Society is at work, somewhat on the lines of our own, which now transacts business with 1,400 Co-operative concerns, its transactions amounting to more than two millions sterling, ranking it behind the two British Wholesales as the third house of the kind in the world. The Central Union of German Co-operative Societies consists of 855 societies, with sales reaching £12,000,000, and 10,000 employees. In Denmark agriculture still flourishes—Co-operatively. The French productive and agricultural societies continue their success, and the alliance of the Belgian Socialists with the Co-operative Societies of that country is an asset of importance in the political world. The International Alliance is bringing to light all these various phases and its Bibliography of Co-operative Literature in all Countries, which has just been published, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of developments in associated trading.



## THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

*President* : Mr. J. Shillito. *Secretary* : Mr. T. Brodrick, Balloon Street, Manchester.

Some idea of the magnitude of the operations of the C.W.S. may be learned from the fact that it invoiced goods to the value of £10,720,966 during the first half of 1906, and transferred from its own productive works a further value of £2,123,069 in the same period. Its capital rose to £4,705,688, and the membership of societies comprised in the Federation was 1,693,684.

Last year reference was made to the formation of a Committee to inquire into the constitution of the Wholesale. That has reported, with the result that a revised method of remunerating the directors and generally improving their status has been adopted. The more effective control that is expected with regard to the productive works is already becoming recognised, and Co-operators are hopeful that greater progress will now be made in the direction of self-employment. Towards the close of the year a fillip in this direction was given by the operations of the Soap Trust. In the indignation that was aroused, Co-operators naturally were prominent, and their soap works at Irlam which, in the third quarter of the year was sending out 262 tons of soap per week, was compelled to work night and day to keep pace with the demand. It has been decided to start another soap works, at Silver-town, so as to be able to cope with the popular demand.

Great developments have taken place in connection with the flour trade, and some of the mills in the ownership of independent Co-operative Societies were acquired by the C.W.S., while further extensions are contemplated. These have been rendered necessary by the expansion of the bread business of local societies who are steadily advancing the proportion of Co-operative flour used on their premises.

### Boot and Shoe Trade.

Most important is the boot and shoe branch of the Society's operations, and in the third quarter of the year no fewer than 1,119,304 pairs of boots were made at the three factories at Leicester, Rushden, and Heckmondwike, the total value of the production of boots, leather, &c., being £283,933. Of equally growing extent are the brush factories at Leeds and Huddersfield, the cabinet works at Newcastle and Manchester, the clothing works at Manchester and Leeds, the weaving shed at Bury, the corset factory at Desborough, the printing works at Manchester, lard refinery at West Hartlepool, hosiery works at Leicester, preserve and pickle works at Middleton; while the great branches at Newcastle, London, Bristol, and elsewhere testify to the growing trade of the C.W.S. From its tobacco factory nearly 50 million cigarettes are sent out every year.

The greatest increases among recent progress have been in the home coal trade, which has shown a rise of 50 per cent. in 1906, and probably indicates the ownership of mines ere long. Already, however, the C.W.S. has demonstrated its power and prestige, which are being well maintained by the growing loyalty of its members.

## AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

THE AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY.—*President*: Mr. R. A. Yerburgh.  
*Secretary*: Mr. J. Nugent Harris, Dacre House, Dacre Street, Westminster, S.W.

Co-operation in agriculture has had a varied career in this country, and has hitherto been mainly associated with the sympathetic work of some leading landowners. Here and there distributive stores have managed farms, but the losses have been greater than the profits. In 1905, 8,706 acres were thus farmed by 68 societies, the results giving an aggregate profit of £4,075, and an aggregate loss of £7,889. The farms range in size from 10 acres of the Middlesbrough Society, upon which a loss of £1 was made, to the 449 acres of the Hucknall Torkard Co-operators, who lost £177. The Chester-le-Street had the largest deficit, £256 on 212 acres; and the Sunderland society made the most notable profit, viz., £632 on 420 acres, followed by the £515 of the Newcastle-on-Tyne society secured on an acreage of 122. Neither of the great Wholesale Societies made profits, and the aggregate losses on the two farms at Lancaster and Lanark was £6,455. Rather better returns were furnished by the three farming societies, two of which made profits of £4,203, the other having a small deficit of £7.

The most hopeful aspect of associated farming, however, is that directed by the Agricultural Organisation Society, which is working in loyal co-operation with the Co-operative Union, although quite a distinct body with definite constitution and aims. At the beginning of November, 1906, there were 136 societies affiliated to the Agricultural Organisation Society, being classified as follows:—

Societies for the supply of requirements and sale of produce	97
Dairy, bottled milk, and cheesemaking societies	12
Rural Industries Societies	4
Allotments and small holdings societies	4
Agricultural Credit societies	11
Auction market	1
Fruit grading society	1
Motor service societies	3
County Pig Insurance Association (which already includes 55 branches)	1
Agricultural Co-operative Federation, Ltd.	1
Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society	1

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Five years ago the combined trade of the agricultural societies thus united for mutual action was £10,000; in 1906 it was over £300,000 and some of the societies have grown important enough to secure substantial concessions from railway companies. At Hereford, the Great Western Company has built a *dépôt* for the Hereford Co-operative Fruit Grading Society, and the L. & N.W.R. has been similarly well disposed towards another society at Newport (Salop). Latterly a system of interchange of produce and commodities has been developed, with the result that dwellers in rural districts have been brought into direct contact with the advantages of distributive as well as agricultural Co-operation. Thus, the Forest Supply Society of Worcester is supplying bottled milk to the Kidderminster Society; the Eastern Counties Dairy Farmers' Society sends a large supply of milk to the Stratford Society, which has a milk

trade of £40,000 a year; the Framlingham Agricultural Society sends eggs to the Lowestoft and Penge societies, while other societies are arranging to take meat and poultry.

This practical trade development is being carried out by means of the Agricultural Co-operative Federation, which arose out of the Advisory Department of the Agricultural Organisation Society and was formed towards the end of 1905. This is doing useful work in assisting the agricultural Co-operators to dispose of their produce to the best advantage.

Associated with this work is the Central Co-operative Agricultural Bank, which was formed in July last to provide a central bank from which to supply capital to the local agricultural societies.

## PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION.

THE line of demarcation between the two schools of productive Co-operation may be so clearly drawn that no confusion need arise as to the principles of Wholesale and those of the Co-partnership side of the movement. The Co-operative Wholesale Society is a distributor as well as a producer of goods, and is really a federation of the distributive societies of the country, of which 1,154 are in membership. No individuals are admitted as shareholders, and goods are sold only to societies. The profits are divided among the shareholding societies in proportion to their purchases. In the Co-partnership Societies, profits are distributed among capital, customers, and labour, the workmen generally having representation on the management committees—a system that cannot obtain in the Wholesale Society owing to the fact that all concerned act as delegates from societies, instead of being personal members.

The following figures indicate the extent of Co-operative product of all kinds in 1905, that being the latest period for which complete returns are available :—

	No. of Societies.	No. of Employés.	Trade.	Profit	Loss.
			£	£	£
England and Wales	122	6,433	2,453,219	126,186	2,722
Scotland .....	17	1,864	722,840	78,383	246
C.W.S., England	1	11,468	3,543,501	98,543	2,594
C.W.S., Scotland ...	1	4,599	1,942,321	72,982	2,945
Total .....	141	24,364	8,661,881	376,094	8,507

These figures are useful in revealing the influence that Co-operative production may have in connection with the rings and trusts now being formed in different parts of the world. Already Co-operative producers have shown their power in labour disputes, and during the last great struggle in the boot and shoe trade not only were the Co-operative boot factories the first to concede to the demands of the men, but they continued to make boots when others were closed. And similarly, Co-operators, with their production of over eight millions a year, will soon be a factor to prevent the cornering of those markets to which they have given any attention.

## LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP.

**CO-PARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION.** *President* : Professor S. J. Chapman.  
*Secretary* : Mr. H. Vivian, M.P., 22, Red Lion Square, Holborn, W.C.

**CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION.**—*President* : Mr. J. Craven. *Secretary* : Mr. R. Halstead, 39, Cambridge Street, Leicester.

The first-named Association has rendered service to the Labour Co-partnership by its propaganda work ; the second is the practical body that with regard to trade, opening up markets and obtaining capital, as far as the internal working of these societies is concerned, the most important development has been the establishment of a system of joint working under which distributive societies dealing with several productive lines are saved the trouble of several accounts—a piece of economical organisation that has proved exceedingly valuable. Several of the societies have done extremely well with regard to trade and profits ; but few new ones have been started. In fact, the Labour Co-partnership Association has latterly limited its activities from the formation of Co-operative Societies towards that of encouraging private firms to practice Co-partnership. In this direction its greatest success has been with the gas companies, the total amount of workmen's earnings which were capitalised by five companies reached £1,000,000 in June, 1906. Naturally, the South Metropolitan Gas Company is foremost in the figures, Sir George Livesey being a stout supporter of the Co-partnership principle.

Information has also been given by the Labour Co-partnership Association to the various societies, reference to which will be found elsewhere, and the figures to its operations are comprised in the table above.

Office Address: "CO-PARTNERSHIP, LONDON."

Telephone: No. 7943 Central.

## LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP TENANTS' HOUSING COUNCIL.

Established under the auspices of the Labour Co-partnership Association.

*President* : THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN BRUNNER, BART., M.P.

*Vice Presidents* :

RIDGE.  
ARTH. C.E.  
NAR. LL.D.  
RD BRABROOK, C.B.  
SEY, K.C.B.  
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CADBURY.  
CADBURY.  
Rev. The DEAN of  
Exeter.  
DN W. MOORE EDE,  
FAIRFAX-  
CHOLMELEY.

G. E. GLADSTONE (Warden,  
Rusmore Edwards Settlement).  
HENRY B. HARRIS.  
W. CECIL HARRIS.  
HOWARD HODGKIN.  
EBENEZER HOWARD.  
ARTHUR JAMES, M.D., D.P.H.  
W. H. LEVER, M.P.  
C. S. LOCH.  
J. M. LUDLOW, C.B.  
F. MADDISON, M.P.  
Professor A. MARSHALL.  
P. A. MOLTEANO, M.P.

Sir H. J. VANSITTART NEALE,  
K.C.B.  
Councillor J. NETTLEFOLD.  
Mr. Justice NEVILLE.  
The Rev. Dr. PATON.  
HODGSON PRATT.  
HERBERT SAMUEL, M.P.  
A. H. SCOTT, M.P.  
The Earl of STAMFORD.  
Alderman W. THOMPSON.  
ANEURIN WILLIAMS.  
G. SIMS WOODHEAD, M.A., M.D.  
R. A. YERKBURGH.

*Chairman* HENRY VIVIAN, M.P.

*Hon. Solicitor* : CHALTON HUBBARD. *Hon. Treasurer* : HUGH E. SEEBOHM

*Secretary* : MISS SYBELLA GURNEY.

*Organising Secretary* : CROSSLEY GREENWOOD.

**AIMS.**—To aid in the solution of the Housing Problem by encouraging and promoting the establishment of Co-partnership Tenants' Societies.

**EDUCATION.**—To make the principles and work of such Societies known by means of Lectures and the distribution of Literature.

**REGISTRATION.**—To make the Rules for registration, to meet the various conditions under which such Societies may be established, legal and other advice.

**FINANCIAL.**—To give information as to plans, material, cost of construction, &c., so that small Societies, with financial aid, shall not be put to the full expense in each case.

**LEGAL.**—The Council will take no financial responsibility, but will be willing to give advice in financial matters.

**MEMBERSHIP.**—Membership consists of (a) Subscribing Co-partnership Tenants' Societies ; or (b) Individuals and Associations or Groups, who subscribe five shillings a year and upward.

22, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.

# REFORM IN MANY LANDS.

By HARRY SNELL.

THE purpose of this section is not to put upon record the details of reform legislation, but to indicate the problems, the progressive movements, and the essential unity of the cause of reform throughout the world. It seeks to show that the reformers in other lands are engaged in work which unites them with ourselves; that their cause is our cause, and ours theirs; that being one in aim and purpose we stand or fall together, "dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

Three great causes stand out in the effort of the past year. As though by pre-arrangement the workers of the great countries have faced the same wrongs and asked for the same redress. The first is electoral reform and the abolition of plural voting; the second is universal suffrage, including the political equality of the sexes; and the third is the development of an anti-militarist party among the workers.

As the result of the striking figures published in *The Reformers' Year Book*, last year on the Burden of Armaments, questions were asked in the House of Commons, causing the Government to publish the official figures which will be found below. In France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Belgium, and Russia a determined stand is being made by the Socialist parties against the aggressive militarism of the age, and it is to be hoped that the English workers will insist upon the Government's representatives to the Hague Conference taking the initiative in releasing the nations from a burden which is too grievous to be borne.

Russia has been the centre of the revolutionary energy of the year, and England owes much to the Labour Party in that it saved her name from being fouled by contact with a red-handed Government by the proposed visit to Russia of her fleet. It is the best piece of work the Party has done.

Country.	Military Expenditure, 1904-5.	Country.	Military Expenditure, 1904-5.
	£		£
United Kingdom ....	31,559,638	Italy .....	11,451,340
India .....	20,175,694	Japan .....	4,787,457
Austria and Hungary	17,595,072	Russia .....	38,841,784
France .....	27,398,743	United States ..	23,168,773
Germany .....	32,241,627		

## THE COLONIES.

The movement among the Australasian Colonies in the direction of Socialism continues to progress, and the parties representing organised Labour have gained considerably in prestige and influence. In South Africa also Labour parties have come into existence politically for the first time, and have used their influence in opposition to the policy of the existing Governments. The following table, compiled from the Government white paper, shows the extent to which the Imperial Government still continues to supply the sinews of war to many of the Colonies, and exhibits the inaccuracy of

statements made by such Colonies as Natal, that they ought to be allowed to call their own tune, as they are independent of Imperial aid.

British Colonies and Dependencies (and Egypt).	Military Establishments. Personnel.	Maintained by Imperial Government, 1904-5.		Colonial Expenditure on Local Forces.	Total Military Expenditure.
		Imperial Expenditure	Colonial Contributions		
		£	£	£	£
Canada .....	2,147	301,871	22,600	814,329	1,138,800
Australia .....	...	...	...	615,758	615,758
New Zealand .....	...	...	...	234,489	234,489
Cape Colony .....	...	...	...	229,786	...
Natal .....	21,576	3,069,429	4,000	341,016	5,106,066
Transvaal and Orange River Colony .....				1,461,835	
Malta (including detachments in Crete) ..				...	
Wei Hai Wei .....	13,780	1,057,069	5,000	...	1,062,069
Hong Kong .....	7,800	479,032	119,659	4,771	603,462
North China .....				...	
Gibraltar .....	5,489	616,365	...	...	616,365
Other Colonies .....	18,645	1,332,324	391,965	121,702	184,499
Total .....	69,437	6,856,090	543,224	3,823,686	9,561,508
Egypt .....	5,593	434,463	93,500	—	527,963

## *Australia.*

The Commonwealth of Australia, consisting of the six colonies, was proclaimed at Sydney January 1st, 1901.

GOVERNMENT.—Legislative power is vested in a Federal Parliament, consisting of the King, a Senate, and a House of Representatives.

The Senate consists of Senators (six for each of the original States) chosen for six years by the electors voting in each State, except Queensland, as one electorate.

House of Representatives consists of 75 members.

The legislative powers of the Federal Parliament are very extensive.

Members of the State Parliament receive a salary of £300 per annum, and Federal Members £400, there being in Australia no leisured class ready to offer voluntary service.

The Labour Party still continues to be the dominant factor in Australasian politics. It is ably led, its demands are moderate, and its men are trusted for their personal integrity even by those opposed to their programme. In Western Australia the Party has lost ground owing partly to insufficient propaganda and partly to the difficulty of securing first-class candidates.

Great preparations have been made for the elections to the Federal Parliament which will take place after we have gone to Press. Led by Mr. Reid, the reactionary party is making a supreme effort to secure the general defeat of the Socialist candidates. As he seems likely to persuade Mr. Deakin, the leader of the Liberals, to make common cause against the Socialists the probabilities are that Mr. Watson, the Labour leader, will suffer a reduction of his strength. But it is all to the good that the political struggle of the future should be transformed to one between Socialists and Anti-Socialists, a development in which Australia would be leading the world.

The proportion of Socialists to other members at present is as follows :—

	House of Representatives.		Senate.	
	Total Members.	Socialists.	Total Members.	Socialists.
New South Wales .....	26	7	6	—
Victoria .....	23	3	6	1
South Australia .....	7	3	6	3
Queensland .....	9	7	6	5
West Australia .....	5	4	6	4
Tasmania .....	5	1	6	1
	75	25	36	14

Thus while in the Lower House the Socialists are only one in three, in the Senate they come within four of equalling all other parties put together. The Labour Party is neutral on the Fiscal question; some of its members are Protectionists, some are not. They stand for land taxation, adequate Navigation Laws, Old Age Pensions, and general social reform. Until now the Labour Party has not wished to take office, preferring to hold the balance of power in opposition. Mr. Deakin has held office on their sufferance, and what their influence has been may be judged by his programme, which includes a drastic anti-trust Bill, compulsory powers of purchase of large estates for closer settlement, higher protection for the fostering of Australian products, state acquirement of the shipping lines, and a graduated income-tax.

Mr. Watson is admitted to be a capable and far-seeing statesman whose immediate demands are reasonable.

During this year the women of the Commonwealth have been admitted to the franchise, and they will vote at the next elections. It has also been decided to repatriate the Kanakas from the sugar plantations, at the cost of the Commonwealth in pursuance of its policy of a "white Australia." A fresh attempt is being made to attract new settlers, the New South Wales Government guaranteeing emigrants work before starting. It is found that the population of the Commonwealth has increased by only 286,662 in five years, and this is accounted for by the natural excess of births over deaths.

An agitation is proceeding in Western Australia for withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

## Canada.

CONSTITUTION :—GOVERNOR, SENATE AND HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The members of the Senate of the Dominion Parliament are nominated for life, by summons of the Governor-General under the Great Seal of Canada. There are now 81 Senators.

The House of Commons is elected by the people every five years, and consists of 214 members.

The organisation of the Labour forces in Canada has made considerable progress this year. There is ground for believing that the results of the English General Elections in January last gave a great stimulus to the Canadian workers. Not only has the general Socialist agitation greatly increased, but the Trade Unions have been strengthened. According to a report issued by Mr. Gompers early in the year there were in Canada and America 27,000 local trade unions, also State, Dominion, insular, and territorial federations, 601 central Labour Unions, trades assemblies, and local federations.

As the result of a general Trades Congress held in Victoria, B.C., a distinct Independent Labour Party has been formed. It is to work after the model of the English Party. Although Socialistic, it is not called upon to accept the Socialist programme at the present juncture. The Socialist delegates voted with the majority of 62 on this matter, except one or two irreconcilables who voted among the seven on the other side. The Congress which took this step was the 22nd Annual Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. It was thoroughly representative, and when next year it meets at Winnipeg the movement is expected to be in full swing. There have been many strikes in Canada this year, and the workers complain of the importation of blackleg printers from England.

### *New Zealand.*

The legislative power is vested in the Governor and two Chambers.

The Legislative Council consists of 44 members.

The House of Representatives, elected every three years, consists of 80 members.

The steady development of this most progressive of British Colonies is indicated by the fact that its representative in England has been given the status of High Commissioner. Its legislation is based upon co-operative and democratic principles, and it is ahead of all other nations in the march towards Socialism. It has adult suffrage for man and woman; it has abandoned all property qualification for electors, and no one has more than one vote. Its land legislation attempts the settlement of the people upon the land in small holdings. The land tax and the income tax are graduated. The Government lends money on mortgage to small farmers at 5 per cent. interest, and 1 per cent. added for a sinking fund. Its factory laws are more drastic than the English, and the hours and sanitation of retail shops and the hours of clerks are regulated. Its Conciliation Law prevents strikes and lock-outs; it also suppresses sweating, and secures something like a living wage to the worker. Its old-age pensions are gratuitous for every man and woman over 65, and amount to 10s. a week, costing the country £240,000 a year. The liquor laws are overhauled and voted upon every three years, and the finances of the Colony are in a prosperous condition.

The Government is now pursuing an active immigration policy which has attracted many well-known workers in English social reform.

### *South Africa (British).*

CAPE COLONY.—Two elected chambers and Governor appointed from home. At present the Progressives, under Dr. Jamieson, are in a small majority over the Bond in the lower house, but a General Election is expected during 1907.

NATAL.—Two elected chambers and Governor appointed from home.

TRANSVAAL.—Constitution granted July 31, 1906, to come into force in 1907, as stated below.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Under Crown Government.

RHODESIA.—Under Royal Charter to the British South African Company.

CERTAIN NATIVE TERRITORIES.—Administered by the High Commissioner. through local officials.

In Cape Colony no events of special importance occurred during 1906. There was, however, a big strike of cigarette makers eventuating in the workers manufacturing a brand of their own. The general election is looked forward



to with great interest, particularly as the disenfranchised voters come back again on to the register.

### NATAL.

In Natal a horrible war took place against a section of the Zulus. The origin seems to have been the imposition of a poll-tax of £1 per head, which the Zulus construed as one of a series of steps to force them off their land to come to work for the white man for low wages.

A white police force having been sent into one of the villages to collect the tax (before it was legally due), a scuffle ensued in which a Zulu was shot, and subsequently the white man who shot him was killed. Whereupon martial law was at once proclaimed over the whole of Natal, a press censorship was established, and a punitive expedition dispatched. Under martial law three Zulus were executed and subsequently 12 others were condemned to death.

The Home Government heard of the sentence just in time to suspend its being carried into effect. Immediately this became known, the Natal Government resigned their office, and the political hooligans at home at once created a storm before which the English Government submissively bowed—upon which the Government of Natal withdrew its resignation and the natives were promptly shot.

For the next few months the most horrible butchery proceeded. Villages and crops were burned, the natives, homeless and foodless, were chivied into resistance, and then ruthlessly shot down. A price was put on the head of one of the chiefs, Bambaata, but this was subsequently withdrawn at the solicitation of the Home Government. With this solitary exception, the Liberals in this country appear to have done nothing to justify their name, or to interfere to preserve the right-minded instincts of a large section of the white population of the Colony from the degraded actions of the Natal Government. Finally, after the slaughter of several thousand men the "rebellion" was brought to an end, and various vindictive sentences were inflicted on the captured chiefs. There is no doubt, however, that the baser spirits among the whites would welcome a further native war, as a result of which native land might be taken away, and the natives themselves forced to come and work for starvation wages for the whites. Such an eventuality would not only be totally immoral, but would be fraught with awful peril for the future of South Africa.

In the General Election in the autumn four Labour candidates were elected for the legislature.

### THE TRANSVAAL.

The Constitution accorded to the Transvaal by the Liberals gave legislative powers as follows:—

- (1) High Commissioner or Governor.
- (2) Upper House. Nominated during first five years, afterwards elected.
- (3) Lower House of 69 members.

There will be manhood suffrage—i.e., all *males* over 21 with a six months' qualification will be entitled to vote. Electoral districts will not be divided according to population, as in Britain, but according to number of voters. That is described under the fair-sounding name of "one vote one value," but as a matter of fact, is a gerrymandering device to enable 3,000 bachelors on the Rand to be represented by the same number of members in the Assembly as 3,000 farmers, together with 2,000 women and 10,000 children in the country. This principle is not adopted anywhere else in the British Empire except where female suffrage prevails, which redresses the balance.

The seats for the assembly, following this principle, will be divided as follows : Rand District, 34 ; Pretoria District, 6 ; Rest of Transvaal, 29 ; making a total of 69.

In the middle of September was formed the Transvaal National Association, corresponding to what would be called the Liberal Party. In its manifesto, issued October 15th, it appealed to the whole population to make a nation—"a white nation, yet neither English nor Dutch, but South African, fit to take its place beside the Canadian and Australian nations, and yielding true and loyal allegiance to our great Empire." It advocates among its legislative programme the following items :—

(a) Re-adjustment of taxation by lowering duties on necessaries, and reducing railway rates.

(b) Reform of the Mining and Company Laws so as to secure to the people as a whole a larger share of the mineral wealth of the country, and to afford more adequate protection to the investing public.

(c) The prohibition of further importation of Chinese labour, and the repatriation of those now employed in this Colony on the mines upon the expiration of their contracts.

(d) The establishment of a Department of Labour under a responsible Minister

(e) Reasonable working hours for industrial labour and for shop assistants.

The Transvaal I.L.P. also issued a manifesto stating its desire to contest 35 seats for the new Parliament, and calling upon all good Socialists to render them financial assistance in their attack upon the organised forces of Capitalism.

Several important meetings were held in November, at one of which, in the presence of 4,000 people, General Smuts received a great ovation, and outlined a general union of the two white peoples in opposition to the financiers.

### THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

Meanwhile the Liberal Government have given no Constitution of any kind to the Orange River Colony, an omission for which they are worthy of special censure, as there can be no adequate reason for this refusal.

## *India.*

India has no real constitution but is governed by the Viceroy, who is surrounded for the purpose of legislation, by a nominated council consisting mainly of Englishmen.

It is divided up into the provinces of Madras, Bombay, the Punjab and the North West, and two others which, up to December, 1905, formed the one province of Bengal. Over each of these provinces a governor exercises authority, surrounded by a council similar to that of the Viceroy.

The administration of the country is carried out through the Indian Civil Service, consisting of about one thousand English officials, who combine executive and magisterial functions. The people of India have no share in the Government of the country, but are admitted to certain councils of local Government.

The situation in India at the present day is very rapidly changing ; India is becoming self-conscious. The diverse elements of Indian civilisation are becoming consolidated in one or perhaps two camps in opposition to the bureaucratic element of British rule. This is the salient fact which recent events have brought to light, but of which official Anglo-Indians are still ignorant.

Thirty years ago, when Lord Ripon was Viceroy, there seemed every prospect that India would be accorded increasing freedom under British rule, and when a few years later the National Congress was formed by the "intellectuals"

it evoked no national enthusiasm, and its members were contemptuously referred to as "Congress-wallahs." But 20 years of British rule, with no further democratic institutions, and no regard being paid to the wishes of the Indian people, while the increasing economic destitution on the part of the "ryots" has become more manifest with each recurring famine, have worked a remarkable change. To-day the Congress has behind it an enormous body of popular opinion, and it must sooner or later form a force which can be no longer resisted.

There has already been manifested within their ranks the division of opinion which always arises in such cases, and which exists to-day in Russia, viz., the division into Constitutionalists and Revolutionists. The Constitutionalist Party still look to the British Government to give them what they want by more sympathetic administration, and accordingly widening democratic rights. On the other hand, the extreme party led by Mr. Tylak and Bepin Chandra Pal, have come to the conclusion that reform is only to be obtained by direct conflict with the British authority.

#### **Driven into the camp of the Extremists.**

Every day that the British Government delays to meet the wishes of the former, carries over into the camp of the extremists an additional number of men who are really concerned for the welfare of the country. Men like Mr. Gokhale, whom Lord Curzon described as the ablest man in India, believing that in the last few years the clock of progress and liberty has actually been put back by the Government, are becoming more and more dissatisfied. Mr. Gokhale sees that British rule has produced disastrous economic results, and while these great evils might be born as a necessity of a state of transit, they are absolutely impossible if the bureaucracy attempts to make them permanent.

He recognises that unless radical remedies are applied at once, they may come too late.

Up to the present the Mohammedans have kept outside the Congress movement. It should be remembered that they number some 53 millions out of a total population of 231 millions. In British India their attitude has been one of continued friendliness to the British Government, but they are beginning to see that Governments yield only to pressure, and in a deputation which they sent to the Government on October 1st they drew attention to the urgency of their claims.

The action of the Liberal Government with regard to India has been extremely unsatisfactory. In the first place, Mr. Morley refused to re-open the question of the partition of Bengal, and the only step that he took which was at all calculated to meet the feeling of the people of India was the bringing about of the resignation of Sir Bamfylde Fuller, who had attained a well-earned unpopularity.

One of the worst features of the Government of India is, that while it is not responsible to Indian opinion, it is not even responsible in practice to the British House of Commons. The salary of the Secretary of India is not upon the British estimates, and therefore his actions do not come under the attention of the British House of Commons. This is radically wrong, and on July 20th, Keir Hardie moved that in future this change should be effected. He was resisted by Mr. Morley, but supported by a large number of the Liberal and Radical members, and the Government were only saved from defeat by the assistance of Tory votes.

## EUROPE.

The pages that follow contain an account of the principal constitutional reforms which have taken place in the various countries of Europe during the year, together with a chronicle of the progress of the Labour and Socialist Movement.

The struggle of the Russian people for freedom, the adoption of universal (male and female) suffrage in Finland, the final separation of Norway and Sweden, all receive special attention.

The year, 1906, is noteworthy for seeing the first "Parliament of Man" when representatives from 22 countries were gathered together at Westminster, on July 23rd. It was on this occasion that Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman made his famous utterance "the Duma is dead, long live the Duma."

There has also been an international socialist conference at Essex Hall, London, July 16-19, where a large number of continental socialists attended, and M. Anakine gave a vivid description of the attitude of the Labour Party in Russia, and another in Milan during October.

### *Austria-Hungary.*

**CONSTITUTION OF DOUBLE KINGDOM.**—The Kingdom is governed by the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, Francis Joseph. By the Compact (Ausgleich) of 1867, Hungary and Austria are united under the same Dynasty, each retaining its own Constitution, which is a limited monarchy. Among the affairs common to both halves are Foreign Politics, the Army and Navy, Finance, Commercial Treaties, Indirect Taxation, Coinage.

**AUSTRIA.**—In Austria proper the legislative assemblies are the Reichsrath for all the provinces, and the Diets for each separate province. The Reichsrath has an Upper and Lower House. The Upper House consists of the Princes of the Imperial Family who are of age, of a number of Nobles possessing landed property, of ten Archbishops and seven Bishops, and other life members nominated by the Emperor. The Lower House has 353 members, elected partly by direct and partly by indirect suffrage. The Provincial Diets make laws respecting matters not reserved for the Reichsrath.

**HUNGARY.**—The Hungarian Reichstag has an Upper House with 389 members, and a Lower House consisting of 453 members, of whom 40 are members of the Provincial Diet of Croatia. The former is composed of hereditary Peers who pay a big land tax, 40 Archbishops, Bishops, and other Church dignitaries, and Judges. The Lower House is composed of representatives of the people, chosen by the male citizens of 20 years of age, who pay a small house, property, or land tax.

**POLITICAL PARTIES.**—With the exception of the Socialists, most parties in Austria proper may be termed Home-rulers.

**PRESENT GOVERNMENT.**—The Government in Austria is carried on by a combination of parties, there being no permanent majority. The chief parties in Hungary are the "Independent," or Kossuth Party, and the "Constitutional," or Andrássy Group. In the present Coalition Government the "Kossuthists" hold 253 seats, and the "Constitutionalists" 73, thus securing a clear majority of the House. The Kossuth Party stand for an independent Hungary.

The movement towards social reform in Austria-Hungary during the past 12 months has again been severely handicapped by the conflict between the Crown and the Magyars. In February, however, an armistice was concluded and a Hungarian Coalition cabinet formed. Dr. Wekerle, a member of the Constitutional Party, was made Premier, and the other members necessary were taken from the Kossuth, Constitutional and People's Clerical Party. The elections which followed resulted in the extraordinary triumph of the Kossuthists, an interesting feature of the election being the disappearance of the old Liberal Party, which had been in power since 1867, not a single candidate finding a place at the polls, the whole party disbanding.

In the programme of the Coalition Party several measures dealing with social betterment found a place, but the measure of superlative importance, and the basis upon which the armistice between the Hapsburgs and Magyars became possible, was an extensive reform of the franchise equivalent to universal suffrage. This, however, will not be ready until next year.

Strikes during 1906 in both halves of the dual Monarchy have been very plentiful, some presenting quite a unique character, the most important of these being the strike of the flour-milling hands, the masons, and the 6,000 tram employes, to say nothing of the bakers, who caused Budapest to exist on cake for almost a fortnight. Other strikes have taken place amongst the carpenters, agricultural labourers, laundresses, and a huge lodgers' strike of 40,000 lodgers is threatened unless prices are reduced.

It is perfectly clear that the life of Labour, both in Austria and Hungary, is in need of remedial legislation. In Budapest and Vienna wages are low, hours are long, living is very expensive, and in many cases cleanliness is impossible. Factory legislation is steadily progressing, and the number of inspectors is to be doubled. This year over 8,000 factories have been inspected in Hungary. The new "Industrial Law" is to decide the question of "Sunday Rest" and Workmen's Compensation; to restrict female night work, to protect children and workers of minor age; to introduce the principle of Labour representation, hitherto unknown in Hungary; to institute industrial and commercial courts for the settlement of disputes between employer and employed; and, finally, to settle the strike question.

Independent of this comprehensive measure the Hungarian Government is organising Labour bureaux throughout the country to be controlled by the State; and also the extension of the pawnshop system. Two other legislative Acts are being framed, the first is "taxation reform" by which means will be found to lighten the burden of the poor by exempting from taxation all whose income does not exceed the minimum essential to subsistence; secondly, the introduction of a "Small Holdings Act," with a view to improve the lot of peasant proprietors. Amongst several of the young Kossuthist Deputies there exists a distinct tendency towards the advocacy of "women's franchise," and already meetings have been held in all parts of Hungary, and an organisation formed.

In Austria almost everything has been overshadowed by the franchise struggle, which now looks like assuming a definite shape. Trade Unionism in both halves of the Dual Monarchy has moved along steadily.

## *Belgium.*

CONSTITUTION.—Governed by King, Chamber of Representatives, and Senate.

KING.—Leopold II.

THE TWO CHAMBERS are both elected by a system of plural voting. Every male Belgian of 25 has a vote, but he may, owing to wealth, profession, or education, have as many as three votes.

CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Composed of the following: Conservatives, 89 members, led by the Ministry and M. Woeste. Christian Democrat, 1; M. Daens. Liberals and Progressists, 45; M. Hymans, M. Janson (leaders). Socialists, 31; M. Vandervelde (leader).

THE SENATE.—Catholics, 50. Liberals and Progressists, 31. Socialists, 9.

The present Government is in the hands of the Catholic party, and presided over by M. de Smet de Neyer.

The Liberal and Progressist programme comprises: Independence of the Civil Government with regard to clerical influence; compulsory education; personal military service; the abolition of plural voting.

The Belgian Socialist Party is gradually increasing its hold over the people. They are beginning to regard it as their best friend, and capitalist and clerical tyranny is visibly losing ground. The iniquitous system of plural voting, which gives the rich man three votes while limiting the poor man to one, deprives the Socialists of their proper share of representation in the Chamber. At the last election they added only two to their number, which now stands at 31. They have, however, forced the question of electoral reform to the very first position in practical politics. They are also demanding the removal of the priest from the nation's schools, and the substitution of a system of purely secular education. The conscript system is approved by all parties in Belgium, but the Socialists are seeking to abolish the system by which a rich man by the payment of a tax may escape military service. This privilege naturally increases the duration of the service of the poor, and the demand is to abolish all exemptions. In these demands the Socialists are supported by the Liberals, but in regard to the economic questions affecting Labour they have to fight alone. Belgium has already adopted an old-age pension scheme which allows 6½d. a day to the poor over 65. The Socialists are seeking to raise this to a subsistence level.

The disgraceful treatment of the Congo by King Leopold, who claims it as private property, is attracting international attention.

## *Denmark.*

CONSTITUTION.—The executive power is vested in the King and the Ministers. The right of amending laws rests with the Diet in conjunction with the King.

KING.—Frederick VIII.

THE DIET is divided into two bodies: the Senate with 66 members, and the Lower House with 114 members. Twelve of the members of the Senate are nominated by the King for life, the others being elected indirectly by the people, for eight years. The Lower House is elected for three years by universal suffrage, each citizen of 30 years of age being entitled to vote. The members are paid at the rate of 6/8 per day during the session, together with travelling expenses. The parties are divided as follows: Moderate Liberals, 65; Social Democrats, 24; Conservative Liberals, 14; and Radical Liberals, 11. The Government represents the Moderate Liberals.

The Reform movement in Denmark has of late years taken the form of modification of the land laws, accompanied by greatly increased facilities for education. As a result of the breaking up of large estates and the adoption of Co-operative production in agriculture, the conditions of the peasants have greatly improved. They practically govern the country through the Moderate Liberals. Trade Unionism has also progressed, but democratic opinion thinks that it has more to gain from political action than from Co-operation or Trade Unionism. Sick clubs and friendly societies receive subsidies from the State, and this year a plan has been adopted for a State subsidy for the unemployed. It is calculated that the subsidies from the State and municipal bodies to institutions run for the benefit of the workers amount to about 12,000,000 dollars annually. There are strict factory laws against the employment of children and young persons, and an old-age pension scheme has been in operation since 1891, applicable to old working people of 60 years of age. During the past year the Social Democrats succeeded in electing four representatives to the Upper House, the Government losing six seats.

## *France.*

**CONSTITUTION.**—A Parliamentary Republic under the Constitution of 1875, 1884, and 1885. The legislative power is exercised by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The President of the Republic is elected for seven years by a majority of the two Houses sitting together.

**PRESIDENT.**—M. Fallières : elected 1906.

**SENATE.**—The Senate is not an hereditary chamber. Its members are elected by the Senatorial Colleges throughout the country, which in turn are elected by manhood suffrage. There are, however, a few life members of the Senate. The action of the Senate is to steady but not to oppose the popular House.

**CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.**—The Chamber is divided into parties as follows: Socialist Radicals, 246; Republicans of the Left, 77; Dissident Radicals, 7; Independent Socialists, 22; Unified Socialists, 53; Progressists, 64; and 117 of the Opposition, including Royalists, Bonapartists, Liberals and Nationalists.

**PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.**—The present Administration is supported by a coalition of Radicals, Radical Socialists and Socialists, and the more advanced Progressists. This so-called Republican "Bloc" was formed during the Dreyfus case to protect the Republic from the designs of the Royalists.

France has this year recovered from the reaction associated with her recent history, and once more she takes her place in the van of civilisation. The general elections placed the Royalist, Clerical, and Nationalist forces in a most humiliating position, and resulted in the return of a strong Republican government pledged to an advanced social programme.

The above figures will show the position of parties. The gains of the Socialist Party were very striking. The total poll in 1887 was 47,000 votes, by 1902 it had risen to 305,000, while this year the figures for the out and out Socialist candidates were 1,120,000. In places like Amiens it rose from 669 to 5,989, and at St. Quentin from 2,500 to 7,600. Under the influence of Jaurès practical unity has been secured between all sections of the Socialist Party, while the Government has created a Ministry of Labour under the control of Viviani, whose business it will be to advance and prepare special measures of social reform. The Old Age Pensions Bill which passed the Chamber of Deputies has now to be piloted through the Senate. The qualifying age has been fixed at 60, and the cost is expected to be £10,800,000 for the first 10 years, and after that only £6,000,000.

An Act enforcing one day's rest per week has been passed during the year, but the employers whose business it affects are trying to make it inoperative. It is strongly supported by the workers, and is gaining in popularity. There has also arisen a strong anti-militarist movement during the year, and Hervé and others were sentenced to periods of imprisonment up to four years for urging conscripts not to fire on strikers when ordered to do so.

Many strikes have occurred which the workmen, owing to the closer organisation of capital, have found increasingly difficult to conduct. The unconcern with which capital regards the workers' lives was tragically illustrated in the Courrières pit disaster. In spite of warnings the men were sent down, with the result that 1,200 lives were lost. Even then no real effort to explore the mine was allowed, with the result that 13 men were accidentally discovered alive after starving for 20 days. During the year Dreyfus has been finally rehabilitated, and the brave Colonel Picquart has not only been made General, but also Minister of War. In his case time has truly brought its revenge.

## Germany.

**CONSTITUTION.**—The Empire is confederate, governed by the King of Prussia as German Emperor, the Bundesrath, and the Reichstag.

**EMPEROR.**—William II. The Emperor has the right of representing the Empire for all purposes of international law, of declaring war, making peace and treaties.

**THE BUNDESRATH** consists of 58 Delegates from the State Governments composing the German Empire. Its functions are mainly administrative, and consist in the work of 11 Committees for various Departments of State business. Declarations of war, the making of treaties, the dissolution of the Reichstag, and the settlement of disputes between State and State form part of the duties of the Bundesrath.

**THE REICHSTAG** is elected by all male Germans of 25 years of age, one Delegate being chosen for every 100,000 of the population. All new Bills, Finance, and Tariff legislation are dealt with in this House.

**POLITICAL PARTIES.**—The Government is carried on by combinations of Parties, no one having an absolute majority in the Chamber. The chief Parties are: Conservative Right, 73; Centre (Catholic), 102; Social Democrats, 81; National Liberals, 50; Radical Left (Freisinnige Volkspartei), 30; Poles, 16; Various, 45.

**MINISTERS OF STATE.**—The Ministers are appointed by the German Emperor and King of Prussia, and do not need to be Members of the Legislative Assembly. Parliament cannot appoint or dismiss a Minister or a Ministry.

The "Trust" movement has laid heavy hands on the people's food in Germany during the past year. Heavy import duties on meat, imposed to support the large landowners, have caused something like a national revolt against the landlords of Prussia. During the last 20 years they have received as "doles" £44,000,000 in support of the potato-spirit industry, which represents the worst form of alcoholism, and their present avarice has inflicted great privation on the poor, especially in Prussia. The peasants are turning to Socialism as the only corrective.

The Social Democratic Party is in a flourishing condition. Its leading organ *Vorwärts* has 112,000 subscribers apart from a rapidly-growing street sale, and its profits, which go to the party's funds, amount to £7,000 annually. Its magazine has a circulation of 7,000; its women's organ, *Gleichheit* (Equality), has a circulation of 44,000, and *Where Jacob*, the comic journal, 205,000, with a profit of £200 and £2,180 respectively. The total income of the Party during the last year was £40,545, against an expenditure of £44,024. Of this, £9,000 was spent on agitation and £605 on the defence and support of arrested persons.

Socialist editors have been imprisoned at Dresden, Leipzig, Breslau, and other places. The chief event of the year was the Socialist Congress at Mannheim, which declared in favour of the general strike under certain conditions, and in favour of Trade Unionism as being necessary to raise the social status of the working classes. The women's movement has developed rapidly, and the methods of the English Suffragists are being adopted in order to bring their cause to an issue.

There have been many strikes, and the workers' outlook for the present winter is not bright. The anti-militarist movement is taking strong hold, being helped by the notorious brutality of officers to the conscripts.

Taxes on land sales have been passed in Hanau. Essen and Kreuznach have adopted an unearned increment tax on sales of unbuilt land, calculated on the increased value.



## *Holland.*

CONSTITUTION.—Governed by Queen and First and Second Chambers.

QUEEN.—Wilhelmina, if dying childless, the last of the junior House of Nassau.

FIRST CHAMBER.—The First Chamber tends to prevent reform legislation. It consists of 50 members.

SECOND CHAMBER.—The Second Chamber numbers 100 members.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT is partly Liberal, partly Liberal-Democratic, having only a very small majority in the Second Chamber, counting the Social-Democrats on its side. The Roman Catholics base their programme on the *Encyclica Rerum Novarum*. The Anti-Revolutionists represent Orthodox religion. The Liberals are led by Goeman Borgesius and Professor Van der Vlugt. The Liberal-Democrats, under leadership of Professors Drucker and Treul, aim at curtailing the privileges of capital and securing the rights of labour and of the labourers, and at a more equitable distribution of wealth. They maintain the urgency of changing the constitution in order to take away the obstacles against the introduction of Universal Suffrage. The Social-Democrats are steadily increasing in number.

Political progress is far more satisfactory in Holland than the composition of the Parliament and the Government would seem to indicate. In the First Chamber the Calvin-Catholics have an actual majority, while in the Second Chamber they are in a minority of only three. During the year an important Act dealing with labour contracts has been prepared by the Government giving the workman legal security in his bargains and providing the machinery for enforcing his rights. The present Government has abandoned Dr. Kuyper's Bill which dealt with pensions for old age and sickness in one measure, in order to consider them as separate issues. It has also announced its intention of extending the industrial accidents laws to agriculture, and of amending the present taxes on incomes from trade and invested capital, in favour of a general tax on incomes. The effect of this will be to relieve trade and to tax investments still more heavily. It is also proposed to decrease the tax on sugar, and to increase the taxes on alcoholic liquors, including champagne, and on playing cards. An attempt is to be made to relieve the heads of large families from heavy taxation. The Socialist propaganda has gone on the line of demanding universal suffrage. In the annual procession and demonstration for this reform 15,000 workers participated, among whom many marine soldiers marched in uniform. Von Kol has also shown that Dutch Colonial policy is ruthless in its oppression of the native, and that it requires serious amendment.

## *Italy.*

CONSTITUTION.—King, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies.

KING.—Victor Emanuel III.

SENATE.—(Unlimited number, but at present about 500 members). Qualification: Having been elected Deputy three times, paying £120 per annum taxes, having attained high office or dignities in the public service, or distinction in Art, Science or Letters.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES (508 MEMBERS).—Ministerialists, 300; Prime Minister Giolitti. Opposition, 100; Leader, Sonnino. Radicals, 40; Leader, Sacchi. Republicans, 22; Leader, Colaïanni. Socialists, 29; Leaders, Ferri and Turati.

POLITICAL PARTIES.—The followers of Giolitti and Fortis are Ministerialists and have a majority of about 100. The extreme Right is in opposition and frequently votes with the extreme Left (Radicals, Republicans and Socialists). There is more harmony in the extreme Left owing to the influence of Turati.

The past year has been remarkable for barrenness of legislation. The only decided stand made by the Socialist deputies in the Chamber was for the introduction of a Bill to regulate the interference of the military in trade disputes. This was refused. They then asked for time to discuss the behaviour of the troops and armed police during a general strike at Turin, which broke out in sympathy with a local strike of cotton spinners. An orderly debate followed on the General Strike, and the possibilities of revolution, but the question was not allowed to be put. The Socialist deputies then sent in their resignations, which were refused unanimously. They insisted, resigned, sought re-election, and lost three seats.

A measure of special provisions for the needy South had been under discussion for some sessions, but was finally put through in a spirit and form that aroused little interest and no enthusiasm. Too late to affect the Bill, but with a rapidity likely to impress both Government and country—in a few days, in fact—a league of 300 communes was formed on the initiative of an unimportant little country parish. Their demands are chiefly for an alleviation of taxes, and they emphasise the need for Government help for education. They threaten civil obstruction unless they are attended to. Their political representatives, largely to blame for the emptiness of the measure, now promise to take up the question seriously, the Irish question of Italy.

But in labour organisation the year has been fruitful. It has seen the formation of a Labour Confederation (of Trade Unions and the local but popular *Camere del Lavoro*), and the organisation of agricultural labourers and peasants has been greatly stimulated by the successful outcome of a long and extensive strike involving about 8,000 men in the Romagna. The new Trade Union movement, or *Sindacalismo*, has made vigorous growth, and formed the left wing at the National Socialist Congress at Rome in October with an uncompromising programme of anti-State action and legislation, and a protest against the undue influence of professionals and lawyers in the Party. This protest lost them many votes, and helped largely to effect a reconciliation between the Centre (Ferri) and the Right (Turati).

## Norway.

CONSTITUTION.—The legislative power is vested in the *Storting* under a constitutional Monarch.

KING.—Haakon VII.

THE STORTING is a one-chamber institution, consisting of 117 members elected by manhood suffrage for three years. Every male citizen of 25 years of age is entitled to vote. The Prime Minister is chosen by the King from the parliamentary majority, and the Prime Minister appoints his own Cabinet.

During the last year the Norwegians have become a nation on their own account, having agreed to throw off the arrangement which bound them to the more aristocratic régime of Sweden. The Norwegians claim that their Constitution is the most liberal in the world, but it is greatly to be regretted that the plebiscite went in favour of a monarch rather than a republic. The Norwegians intend to be the next nation to confer the right to vote upon its women. There is a small but growing Socialist party under the leadership of Pastor Eriksen. At the last elections the Socialists increased their numbers from four to 12, including Knudson, the vice-chairman of the Socialist Party, and Nilssen, the general secretary of the Socialist Political Organisation. Many candidates not actually elected made a very encouraging poll.

The King was crowned on June 22nd, and his first Parliament opened on October 22nd, 1906.

## *Russia.*

CONSTITUTION.—Autocratic monarchy. Emperor, Nicholas II.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.—The supreme Government is carried on by four Councils or Boards, all of which, however, may be overridden by the Emperor. (1) The Council of State, or Council of the Empire. This Board consists of a President and an indefinite number of members. It is the nearest approach to a legislative body that Russia possesses, but its functions, strictly speaking, are merely advisory. (2) The Senate, or "Ruling Senate." This is the highest Court of Appeal, and the body through which new laws are promulgated. (3) The Council of Ministers. This Council is formed of all the Ministers of State, certain ex-Ministers, and other high officials. It has no collective responsibility. (4) The Holy Synod. The Holy Synod, though its Procurator merely ranks as a Minister, is an independent body, co-equal with the other organs of government.

THE DUMA.—An advisory body constituted in 1905. Its assent not necessary to any action on the part of the Czar. Elected by electoral colleges in every province, the number of members of these colleges varying. The suffrage distributed unevenly between (1) landowners and manufactures, (2) urban electors, (3) peasants. Urban electors must possess real estate to the value of £150; thus the working classes of towns are almost entirely excluded. Only men of 25 years of age and upwards entitled to vote; the ballot to be used except in the case of the peasants.

The chief interest of the year has centred round the election, session, and dismissal of the Duma.

The Government interfered directly in the elections, arresting all candidates suspected of revolutionary tendencies; in this way, only Government Nominees, Constitutionalists, and a certain number of Labour men were able to be elected. The respective numbers of these were estimated at 150, 230, and 120.

The Labour Group in the late Duma represented the peasants of the villages, the town proletariat, and the teaching profession, and gradually drew together during the first few weeks. Its programme then included the following: A general amnesty, removal of the military laws, the abolition of capital punishment, the impeachment of the Government for its organised brutality, and the transference of the land to the people; the 8-hour day, and the insurance and protection of Labour by legislation.

The Constitutionalists, however, took a more moderate line, and though they supported the Labour Party in much of its programme, they did not go with it the whole way. And moreover they did not show the vigilance of the "Third Estate" during the French Revolution, but allowed their sitting to be suspended and their total dismissal to take place. This happened on July 21st.

Since then the Government has made a supreme effort to recover its old authority. In its blind fury it has smitten friend and foe alike. People engaged in charitable work have been imprisoned and banished as revolutionaries, while whole cities have been dragooned into submission by martial law. The Labour Group of the late Duma holds documentary evidence of the Government's complicity in the outrages and brutality inflicted by its military upon the Siberian and Baltic provinces. Villages have been cannonaded, and women and children violated in the interests of "law and order." As a result of this persecution the hopeful patience of the people has given place to revolutionary fury. Force is being met by force, and each day brings its tragedy. Trepoff has died, while General Minn and many other notorious persecutors have been assassinated. Thus Russia, in addition to the financial burden which is breaking her down, is at death-grips with murder, anarchy, and tyranny. The spirit of revolution has penetrated to all sections of the people, and neither the army nor the navy can be

relied on. There have been mutinies at Cronstadt, Sveaborg, and many other places, and 82 out of the 87 provinces of Russia are in a state of exceptional defence.

Preparations for the election of a new Duma have been made, and the Labour interests are working for success on their old programme.

One of the worst features of the year has been the Jewish massacres at Bielostok and other places. That the authorities were implicated in these events was clear, and the officials concerned have never been brought to justice.

England owes the Labour Party in the House of Commons a debt of gratitude for the action it took over this matter. The Government had arranged to send the British Fleet on a complimentary visit to the Government of Russia at the time when its hands were red with the blood of thousands of innocent and helpless victims. Questions were put in the House, and met at first with the usual official evasions, but the persistence and bravery of Will Thorne and others, backed up by public opinion, forced the Liberal Government to allow the Russian Government to declare the visit inexpedient.

The political cowardice displayed by the Liberal Party was further shown by their withdrawal at the twelfth hour from the deputation which was to present a sympathetic memorial to the President of the late Duma.

The only bright spot in the Russian record is in relation to Finland. There the Czar has been forced to sanction a law granting universal, including women's, suffrage. The new Constitution came into force last July, and the elections will shortly take place. Not only will women have the right to vote but to stand for election to Parliament. The Diet will consist of 200 members elected every two years. Every citizen of 24 will have a vote, the sole condition being a tax of two shillings for men and one shilling for women. The lower amount of tax for women is based on their lower earnings. Any violation of the freedom of election is to be punished with imprisonment. The Finns have also obtained a complete amnesty. Some of the Finnish women have been invited to England by the Women's Political and Social Union, in order to help in the agitation now proceeding in favour of sex equality in England.

## Spain.

BY SENOR JUAN SALAS ANTON.

REIGNING SOVEREIGN.—Alfonso XIII.

GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION.—A Constitutional Monarchy, the executive resting in the Council of Ministers with the King, and the power to make laws in the Cortes with the King, who keeps only the right, practically never using it, of veto against the Cortes' decisions, and the right to change the Government. The power of Parliament is sovereign and that of the King very limited. The Parliament, *las Cortes*, consists of two Houses: that of the Deputies (*Congreso*) and that of the Senators (*Senado*), the lower and upper Parliamentary Chambers respectively. There is one deputy to every 50,000 of the population, and they are elected through manhood suffrage; that is to say, every man over 25 years old is entitled to vote, and all electors are eligible. There are in all 431 deputies. At present the majority, consisting of 240 deputies, is Liberal. There are about 140 Conservatives, also 30 Republicans, 6 Catalonians, 6 Independents, 4 Carlists, and 2 Integrists. As to the Senate, there are three classes of Senators: *senadores por derecho propio*, *Senators in their own right*, (captains, generals, admirals, archbishops, presidents of the High Courts and Grandees of Spain, and enjoying a certain income); 100 life Senators, *senadores vitalicios*, appointed by the Crown nomination of the Government; 180 senators elected, *senadores electivos*, by public bodies, such as the Universities, the County Councils (*diputaciones provinciales*) and the *Sociedades Economicas de Amigos del Pais* (Country's Friends' Economical Societies). The Senate and Congress are equal in

authority and the laws need the approval of both Parliamentary bodies which meet every year. The Monarch appoints the President and Vice-Presidents of the Senate; the Congress elects its own officials. The present constitution, that of 1876, grants religious liberty. So though the Roman Catholic is the State Religion, every citizen is allowed to practise the religion he likes, and he may get civil marriage or be buried in a Nonconformist cemetery. But the dissenting churches are not allowed to show symbols outside. There is a free press and education, and liberty of meeting and association.

The marriage of King Alfonso with an English princess has greatly strengthened the Spanish monarchy. The nation is relieved at being connected with the liberal English rather than with the reactionary Austrian Court. The attempt to assassinate the King on his way home from the marriage ceremony has still further increased the prestige of the throne. It has been taken advantage of by the forces of reaction to attack the Socialists. Men like Ferrer, who were only in a remote degree connected with the outrage, have been imprisoned.

The revolt against the Vatican has spread to Spain during this year, and the Government is unanimously promoting an Associations Bill which seeks to define the exact position of the Church in regard to the State.

There has been a demand for autonomy on the part of several departments, the Catalonians taking the lead.

The most dramatic strike of the year has been at Bilbao, where the men have fought desperately against long hours, low wages, and an intolerable "truck" system.

There are no Socialist Deputies, but Socialist Councillors in a number of the principal towns. The leading Socialist of the country is a Councillor of Madrid. The Socialists are also strong in Bilbao, and the strength of the movement lies generally in the north and north-east—literally the Celtic fringe.

## *Sweden.*

CONSTITUTION.—The executive power is in the hands of the King, who acts under the advice of a Council of State, the head of which is a minister of State. Each member of the Council is responsible for the acts of the Government. The King possesses legislative power in matters of political administration, but in all other matters he must act in concert with the Diet, which imposes the taxes. Each law must receive the assent of the Crown.

KING.—Oscar II.

There are two Chambers, both of which are elected by the people. The first Chamber has 150 members, whose qualification for election is real estate to the amount of £4,405 or an annual income of £220. Second Chamber has 230 members, 80 from the towns and 150 from the rural districts. The right to vote is the possession of real estate of a taxed value of £55, or in farming land of the value of £330. The members are elected for three years and are paid £66 each session of four months, together with travelling expenses. The vote is by ballot.

The final rupture with Norway has had the effect of both stimulating national patriotism, and of drawing attention to the need of internal reforms. The Socialist propaganda has proceeded with unabated vigour, but no striking development has taken place. There have been comparatively few strikes, the main struggle of the year being for a drastic reform in the franchise. Early in the year great demonstrations were held in favour of universal suffrage, and the Socialist women have conducted a vigorous and continued propaganda throughout the whole country, in favour of votes for women being granted when the change is made.

## *Switzerland.*

**CONSTITUTION.**—A republican confederation. The legislative power is vested in the Federal Assembly, which is divided into two chambers—the National Council and the Council of the States. These Chambers sit separately, with few exceptions; when they sit together they become the Federal Assembly.

**NATIONAL COUNCIL.**—One deputy for each 20,000; elected by ballot and for three years. One hundred and sixty-seven members from 49 electoral districts.

**COUNCIL OF THE STATES.**—Forty-four deputies. Each canton returns two members, who are paid by the cantons. The Federal Assembly is supreme in matters of war, peace, alliances, treaties, &c. The political parties are divided into Right (Clerical), Centre (Liberal), Left (Radical), Workmen's Socialist Party.

There has been considerable reaction in Switzerland during the last year, and the Socialist Party has temporally lost ground. Much harm to the Socialist propaganda has been done by the shooting of an innocent Frenchman in mistake for a Russian noble. While expressing no opinion on the Russian revolutionary methods of obtaining freedom, the Swiss Socialists complain that the cause in Switzerland should have been put back by this act. It is noteworthy, too, that the Swiss army, which some desire to see copied in England, has shot down more strikers than any other army. The capitalist seems able, for the asking, to get a regiment sent to terrify and coerce his men into submission. The army does not hesitate to use the fixed bayonet and ball cartridges. The Government has shown an alarming tendency to gain the goodwill of Germany by expelling all foreigners who were obnoxious to it. For writing an anti-militarist leaflet one Socialist received eight months' imprisonment and loss of all civil rights for a further 12 months. Although the Socialist Party has lost ground as a national political force, much advance has been made in methods and scope of organisation.

## AMERICA.

**PRESIDENT.**—Theodore Roosevelt.

The whole legislative power is vested in a Congress, which consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

**SENATE** consists of two members from each State, chosen by the State Legislature for six years. Senate ratifies or rejects all treaties made by the President with foreign powers. It has also legislative functions, and its members constitute a High Court of Impeachment.

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** consists of members elected every second year. Members must be at least 25 years of age, and must have been citizens of the United States of America for seven years.

Socialism progresses so rapidly in America that even old and experienced election campaigners are growing alarmed. For the first time in American politics a force has arisen that cannot be bought, which checkmates the political "bosses" in their strongest move. This year the workers have begun a new movement which adds to the worries of the Republican and Democratic politicians. They have determined to play one party off against the other where they cannot run candidates of their own, and to vote for the one which offers the best terms to Labour. The whole of the members of the American Federation of Labour under Samuel Gompers (see also under Canada) are pledged to this new device, and as an aggregate membership of nearly 2,000,000 is involved the old party agents are naturally alarmed.

The big thing of the year has been the preparations for the November elections which resulted in a reduction of the Republican majority in the Congress from about 112 to about 70. The fight for the Governorship of the State of New York was the centre of the greatest interest and excitement. Mr. Hearst, famous yellow journal editor, was the Democratic candidate, and he received the enthusiastic support of the organised workers. The main plank of his platform was the restraint and regulation of trusts and monopolies by law. He also advocated the public ownership of public utilities, protection for American Labour, the maintenance of labour unions and organisations that promote the distribution of wealth, and direct control of the Government by the people. Against him was arrayed the greatest combination of capital the world has ever seen, all the great newspapers, some of the "bosses" of his own party who were more plutocratic than Democratic, while President Roosevelt practically accused him of being responsible for the murder of President McKinley. Personally, he was an unfortunate candidate, but with all his disadvantages he came within 65,000 of winning on a total poll of about 1,500,000. Any other man on the same ticket would have carried all before him, so great is the anger of the people against Rockefellerism.

The State of Ohio has returned a verdict of guilty of conspiracy to restrain trade against the Standard Oil Company, inflicting very heavy penalties. The result has been that the trusts are now seeking to thwart the Federal and State regulations by creating foreign holding companies; the Manhattan Oil Company having already taken refuge in England.

The Socialist propaganda has been enormously helped by the revelations of Mr. Upton Sinclair concerning the stock-yards, and packing-houses of Chicago. The great Thaw-White tragedy has also had its influence by throwing a flashlight upon the habits of the plutocrats. Thousands of people who had not previously thought about the question have turned to Socialism as the only refuge. Among these are two well-known millionaire reformers, Messrs. Medhill Patterson and J. Phelps Stokes, who have declared for revolutionary principles. The American workers are greatly concerned about the heavy roll of industrial accidents, which amount to 18,000 killed and injured each year. The negro pogroms that have taken place in Georgia have cast a shadow on American civilisation, and reminded the world that the great problem of the colour line presses for solution.

## CHINA.

A very remarkable awakening has taken place in China during the year, due in the first place to the military success of the Japanese in their war with Russia.

The Commission appointed by the Emperor of China to inquire into the internal condition of the empire, reported in the middle of September, 1906. Nine-tenths of the members expressed themselves in favour of a system of constitutional government, identical in all principal aspects with that adopted in Japan.

At present China is governed from Peking by the State Council nominated by the Emperor. The Commission recommended that, to begin with, the State Council should be converted into a kind of British Cabinet—that is, that the heads of all the State Departments should be its members. That would give at once a more representative Central Government. Then the provincial Viceroys were to be abolished, and nominated Governors—as in the British Colonies—were to be substituted. The elective principle was also to be introduced in the provinces.

Perhaps it would be more correct to say that not one Constitution, but at least 18 Constitutions, are to be granted, if the wishes of the commission are carried out. Each province will have its elected Parliament, and the provincial Executive will be chosen from the representative body, and, of course, will be subordinate to the Governor. It is not proposed that the Central Government should be subject to direct election. But if the provincial Parliaments prove successful, then each province will send from its Parliament a nominee to the Central Executive in Peking.

The qualification for a vote—in harmony with Chinese custom—will be solely educational. Property counts for nothing as contrasted with education in China. But the Commission does not recommend female suffrage. The report goes as far as possible upon the English model.

As to the prospects of the Reform movement, it is almost certain that the State Council will be recognised as the Commissioners recommend. If the people support the demand for provincial Parliaments, that part of the report, too, is bound to be adopted. It depends entirely upon the strength of the popular desire, and it is probable that the vast majority of educated Chinamen will welcome the recommendations.

Meanwhile the Chinese Government have taken drastic steps to deal with the opium traffic and to prohibit a fresh introduction of opium, which in their view is detrimental to the interest of the people.

## JAPAN.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.—The Emperor combines the rights of sovereignty and the exercise of the whole of the executive powers, with the advice and assistance of the Cabinet Ministers, who are appointed by himself.

MIKADO.—Mutsuhito. HOUSE OF PEERS.—Composed of 300 members.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Representation, 369 members. Voting is by secret single ballot.

The Europeanisation of Japan proceeds apace, and the dark side of the process is already apparent. The Government has recently issued its sixth "Financial and Economic Annual," which is full of diagrams showing the quick development of capitalism. The belief that the quick-witted Japanese would at the beginning of their new civilisation, avoid the evils of European capitalism by accepting a scheme of Socialism is not being fulfilled. Private railways increase faster than those belonging to the State, and in every department the dividend hunter, who has been to Europe and received a business training, is fastening the chains of monopoly upon the people.

To meet this growing danger there is already a thriving Socialist Labour Party, which has a daily newspaper the *Hikari* (Light). Its offices are in Tokio, and Kotoku is its editor. "The Labour Party" goes straight for the "public ownership of means of production," and the "raising of wages and limiting of Labour hours." Messrs. Okuniya and Kobayashi, the principal members, are well-known politicians who have retired from the old Liberal Party.

There has been a great fight over the tramways question, and the demonstrations against the company's monopoly have been held on the European model. The best that can be said of the development of Japan is that the Socialists are taking time by the forelock, and showing their country to what capitalism inevitably leads.



# TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

## HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

BY A. MACCALLUM SCOTT.

TWELVE years ago Sir William Harcourt introduced his Local Veto Bill into the House of Commons. It was thrown out by the Lords; it was feebly backed by the Commons; and many old electioneering hands have declared that it contributed largely to the crushing defeat of the Liberal Party at the General Election of 1895.

Much water has flowed beneath London Bridge since then. The brewers, thanks to Mr. Balfour's Act of 1904, occupy a much more strongly-entrenched position.

Now we are about to open a new chapter in the history of the Temperance Movement. The Prime Minister has pledged himself to make a comprehensive and fundamental measure of Temperance Reform one of the chief features of the 1907 session of Parliament. The details, even the outlines, have not yet been disclosed. The problem is one of vital importance. Enormous interests, both public and private, are at stake. And the promised measure is looked forward to with anxious expectancy by all classes of citizens.

### Public Opinion.

The evils of the drink traffic are part of the common stock of knowledge and experience; but opinions differ widely as to where a practical remedy is to be found. There are some who hope to extirpate the traffic altogether at one fell swoop. There are others who can see no hope save in the gradual development and strengthening of human nature. Between these two extremes of paternal autocracy and individualistic impotence there are all kinds and degrees of partial remedies and palliatives put forward. Some regard the drink traffic as the root of all our social evils; others regard intemperance itself as one of the results of a vicious social and economic system. Some propose to solve all our social problems by means of temperance reform; others propose to secure temperance reform by reorganising the social and economic conditions of the people. The latter is the more hopeful and practical plan, for it aims through environment at human nature itself which is the essential factor in the problem.

Practical reformers must begin by recognising that in this country legislation must proceed step by step with public opinion. The English people refuse to submit to paternal coercion. They would rather make their own mistakes and learn from experience.

### Prohibition.

In 1853 the United Kingdom Alliance was founded "for the total and immediate legislative suppression of the drink traffic." Three years ago it celebrated its jubilee. For half a century its policy has been prohibition and prohibition alone—national prohibition, local prohibition, prohibition on certain days and on certain hours, prohibition as regards sale to particular persons, and individual total abstinence.

The Good Templar organisations have adopted a similar policy. Much good educative work has been done. The total abstainers have been

organised into a very compact body. Many individuals have been encouraged by the force of precept and example and by the visible symbol of the pledge to overcome their weakness.

Two comparatively small organisations, the National Independent Temperance Party, and the National Prohibition Party, with head-quarters in Leicester and New Cross respectively, pursue a vigorous propaganda in favour of National Prohibition pure and simple.

Yet, with all this effort, after 50 years the power of the drink traffic for evil has increased rather than diminished. The monopoly has become much more stringent and lucrative. So far as the management is concerned it is concentrated in fewer hands; so far as financial interest is concerned the development of the limited liability system has enormously extended its range. The political power of the "Trade" has enormously increased, and the Licensing Act of 1904, without a mandate from the people, converted the annual tenancy of the licencees into a vested interest terminable only on payment of a heavy compensation. The Trade is entrenched and fortified as it has never been before.

#### **Rowntree and Sherwell.**

Of recent years, however, a fresh and original impetus has been given to the Temperance movement. Experiments upon a large scale have been tried in various foreign countries. The elaborate and thorough investigations of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell have brought a knowledge of these experiments within the reach of every reformer. Their first important book "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," published in 1899, created a great and immediate sensation. Nine editions were rapidly exhausted, and since then their other books, "British Gothenburg Experiments (1902)," "Public Control of the Liquor Traffic (1903)," and "The Taxation of the Liquor Trade (1906)," besides numerous pamphlets, have made most valuable additions to our precise knowledge of the economics of the drink monopoly, and of the various methods whereby its disastrous effects can be and have been mitigated.

Messrs. Rowntree & Sherwell's best-known book, "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," is mainly devoted to an exhaustive examination of three great Temperance policies in operation—National and State Prohibition, Local Option, and Disinterested Company Management. The first and second have been tried upon a very wide scale in the United States of America; the third, popularly known as the Gothenburg system, has been generally adopted in the towns of Norway and Sweden. Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell's conclusions may be summed up as follows:—

(1) State prohibition—that is to say, applying to every part of the State—has been adopted only in the more rural and thinly-populated States of America. The prohibition has been successful in the country districts; but these States also contain a number of towns, some of considerable importance, and in these towns the prohibition law has been a dead letter. Public opinion is strongly opposed to its enforcement, and the law is systematically evaded with the connivance and even co-operation of the authorities. As their populations have increased several of these States have abandoned State prohibition for local option.

(2) Local option prevails over an enormous extent of territory in America. many of the most important States having adopted it. Under this system the rural and thinly-populated districts have generally vetoed the liquor traffic, as also have done a number of residential suburbs in the neighbourhood of large towns. But the cities themselves, the densely-populated centres, where the evils of the traffic are most obvious, have steadily voted against prohibition.

Where the traffic is continued several States adopt the "high licence" system, which automatically keeps down the number of licences and secures their monopoly values for public purposes.

### **The "Company" System.**

(3) In Norway and Sweden again the same divergence of method is to be observed between country and town. In the rural districts the traffic in spirits is generally prohibited. In the cities and towns it is permitted. But the distinctive feature of the Scandinavian system is the attempt to grapple with the traffic in the towns at closer quarters. In 1865 the Swedish town of Gothenburg adopted the system of handing over all the licences within its boundaries to a company, the shareholders of which agreed to limit their profits to a small fixed percentage on the capital invested, and to devote any surplus profits to public purposes. The underlying principle of the system was the reduction to a minimum of the financial interest of those engaged in the traffic, and the entire elimination of the stimulus of private profit in pushing sales. The system proved a great and an immediate success so far as it went. It applied only to the sale of spirits and not to the sale of beer, with regard to which latter there was practically free trade. The consumption of spirits was, under the company system, greatly reduced. On the other hand, the sale of beer, which is outside the company system, has enormously increased. Many of these restrictive measures which temperance reformers in this country have for over half a century been vainly striving to pass into law against the organised strength of the Trade, have been spontaneously adopted in Scandinavia. The Trade itself, having no financial inducement to do otherwise, has imposed upon itself such restrictions as early closing, Sunday and holiday closing, refusal to sell to minors or for credit, or to give commission to employés on sales. The political power of the Trade moreover, has been completely destroyed.

In Norway various improvements have been made upon the original Gothenburg system, particularly with regard to the distribution of surplus profits. Formerly there was a danger that the expenditure of these profits on local improvements or in the relief of local rates might substitute a local public interest for the old private interest in pushing sales. In Norway the greater part of the surplus profit is handed over to the central Government, and the remainder is expended in strict accordance with statute. In August, 1906, the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board sent a small commission, consisting of four well-known public men, to investigate the results of the Norwegian system. Their report was an unqualified pronouncement in favour of it as a measure of Temperance reform. In Norway it has won the enthusiastic support of all the leading public men, including the leaders of the Temperance movement, and even the "Totalists" and Prohibitionists.

### **Public-house Trusts.**

In the United Kingdom there have been various experiments on the lines of the Gothenburg system. In 1877 Mr. Chamberlain made an abortive attempt to secure legislation on the subject, and again in 1893 the Bishop of Chester introduced an "Authorised Companies" Bill into the House of Lords, but it got no further. It has been left, as is common in this country, for private enterprise to point the way to the legislative assembly. The People's Refreshment Association, founded in 1896, successfully applied the Gothenburg system to a limited number of public-houses in various parts of the country. In 1901, on the initiative of Earl Grey, the Central Public-house Trust was founded with the object of founding a Trust Company in every county which

would be prepared to take over any new licences or any old licences which might be offered, and to administer them so as to discourage intemperance and to secure the full monopoly value for public purposes. According to the last annual report, there are now in existence in the United Kingdom no fewer than 38 trust companies with a total of 206 licences under their management.

So far as can be judged from the limited scale of the experiment, the Trust houses are a great improvement on the old. The sale of intoxicants is not pushed; the proportionate sale of food and of temperance beverages has largely increased, and these licences have ceased to be centres of political influence. But the application of the principle of disinterested management is severely limited in this country. It is but seldom that a new licence is granted. If the Trust wishes to take over an old licence it must either be as a benevolent gift from some philanthropic owner or it must pay the full monopoly value for it. In the latter case, if it is to earn a dividend on its capital the sale must be pushed to the same extent as by any ordinary commercial licence-holder. Again, the fact that it has no monopoly of licences in a given district nullifies the effect of any restrictive regulations it may impose upon the licences under its control. Instead of diminishing consumption they simply drive it across the way or into the next street. Finally, the practice of these Trust companies of spending their surplus profits on public improvements and amenities in the immediate vicinity is a dangerous one. It may lead to the creation of a distinct local public interest in the sale of drink which would be as great an obstacle to progress as the old private interest. If the company system is to achieve any great results these factors must be got rid of as has been done in Norway.

## A PRACTICAL POLICY.

By A. MACCALLUM SCOTT.

Almost simultaneously with the publication of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell's book in 1899, was issued the Minority Report of the Licensing Commission signed by the chairman, Lord Peel, by Mr. (now Sir) Thomas P. Whittaker, M.P., the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other well-known public men. It was immediately recognised as providing a rallying-ground for temperance reformers in the shape of a practical policy which, while not compromising the final solution which many temperance people have in view, nevertheless would win the support of the more moderate section of the party without whose assistance any substantial advance was impossible. Now that Sir Wilfrid Lawson is no more, Sir Thomas Whittaker is the most conspicuous and interesting personality in the Temperance Party, and he has given his powerful aid to the new movement.

In 1903 the National Temperance manifesto obtained an unprecedented volume of support from representative men and women of all ranks and shades of political opinion.

The various threads of the new movement have been gathered up in the Temperance Legislation League, founded in November, 1905, of which Lord Peel is president, Sir Thomas Whittaker, chairman of committee, Mr. Arthur Sherwell, honorary secretary, and Mr. Joseph Rowntree a member of the executive committee. The League is the only body which puts forward a constructive policy of immediate temperance reform, and it has been most active during the past year. The list of representative persons who have signed its programme is unparalleled in the history of political propagandas.

The Labour Party has its own solution for the Licensing problem. It would treat the liquor traffic like any other monopoly and municipalise it right away, so that in the future it should be administered with a strict eye to the public advantage, and not to private gain. The argument in favour of municipalisation has been stated with great ability by Mr. E. R. Pease, the secretary of the Fabian Society. But even among those who advocate this final solution, it is recognised that for the present it is as impossible of attainment as is national prohibition itself. Public opinion, even among those who advocate the municipalisation of monopolies in general, dreads implicating the community in direct responsibility for a traffic which brings such evils in its train. It is feared that if municipalities were to draw large revenues from the sale of drink they might be tempted to push sales in order to keep down the rates. Whether this objection be well founded or no, it exists in such strength as to prevent municipalisation of the drink traffic from being a question of practical politics in the immediate future; and we are here considering what is possible in the immediate future.

The great advantage of municipalisation would be that it would eliminate entirely the stimulus of private profit in pushing sales. Can this be accomplished, even approximately, by some other method, without implicating the State? Because it seeks to accomplish this, the Temperance Legislation League has secured the support of a large number of the members of the Labour Party both within and without the House of Commons.

The policy of the League may be stated briefly. It is based upon Local Option, upon the democratic principle of "trust the people." It seeks power to enable a substantial majority of the people in every locality to decide whether or no the traffic is to be carried on in their midst. The necessity of paying heavy compensation in accordance with the terms of the Licensing Act of 1904, on refusal to renew a license, imposes an insuperable obstacle to the free exercise of a local option. The League, therefore, proposes a time limit to payment of compensation, so that the public may regain full control over the monopoly they have created; further, that licenses only be granted on a system which will secure the full monopoly value for public purposes. Some suggest "High Licensing" as in America; or heavy license duties, letting by auction, or limiting profits. The league would also restore and extend the powers of local licensing authorities as to imposition of conditions on granting licenses.

#### **"Disinterested Management."**

But the League recognises that these measures are in themselves insufficient to solve the problem of intemperance. A bare local option between veto or no veto does not mean the prohibition of the traffic, but rather its continuation in those crowded centres of population where its evils are most obvious.

The problem which temperance reformers must face is: "What are you going to do with the liquor traffic so long as it is permitted by the law of the land, whether under Local Option or otherwise?" The proposal of the League is that wherever it has been decided to grant any licenses the local licensing authority should be empowered to hand over all the licenses in its district to a Disinterested Management Company under stringent statutory regulations and safeguards. The capital would be provided by private individuals, but their financial interest in the traffic would be limited to a small fixed interest on the capital invested.

The enforcement of the time limit would destroy the present vested interest, so that the capital required by the new companies would be small, representing only stock and fittings, bricks and mortar. The interest on this capital

would be earned on a very small turnover of trade compared to that which is necessary to pay dividends on the present enormously inflated capital values. When once this small dividend was earned there would be absolutely no temptation to push sales, as all surplus profits would be paid direct into the national exchequer. A strict provision would be made against local expenditure whether in relief of rates or otherwise. This is the scheme which goes by the name of "Disinterested Management" and which has excited considerable controversy in temperance circles during the past year.

### **Misunderstandings.**

The objections which have been raised to Disinterested Management are based almost entirely upon misunderstandings. A member of good temperance people think that it is identical with municipalisation or "public management." In reality it is absolutely distinct. The capital would be provided by private individuals, and the management would remain in private hands as at present, the vital difference being that the financial interest of those engaged in the traffic would be reduced to a minimum, and the stimulus of private profit would be entirely eliminated. Once this is clearly understood, every objection based upon the idea that Disinterested Management would still further implicate the community in an evil traffic vanishes. It would implicate the community no more than the present system; but it would break the back of the political power of the Trade, eliminate one of the most potent factors in disseminating the evil, and clear the way for other reforms.

There remain the objections of the Trade to being deprived of a lucrative monopoly, and of the "all or nothing" school of reformers who refuse to accept anything short of prohibition, and who have for 50 years by their unpracticable policy played into the hands of the Trade. These objections are fundamental. They cannot be removed by argument or compromise, and practical temperance reformers must be prepared to encounter the joint hostility of the Trade and of the Extremists.

Public opinion is ripe for an immediate forward move, and something more than a merely negative policy will be required from the Government in its promised Bill.

## **MUNICIPAL DRINK TRADING.**

BY EDWARD R. PEASE.

THIRTY years ago Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then as ever a daring innovator, tabled a proposal for the municipalisation of the Public-houses of Birmingham. When the Sir Henry Fowler of that day suggested that a company would be better, and would obviate the dangers of municipal trading, Mr. Chamberlain replied that the big towns were big traders already, and a municipality could manage the business better than any company.

The progressive Temperance reform party has taken up the position occupied, not by Mr. Chamberlain, but by his critic of 30 years ago. At present their "trust in the people" is closely limited. For controlling the Public-house they will only trust company directors, and especially the magnates who manage the Public-house Trust Association.

For Socialists who believe in the extension of municipalisation, for Progressives who favour direct employment, and for Radicals who have no love for Lords and plutocrats and dignitaries, there should be no hesitation between

the two methods. Both seek the same end. One attains it in direct way by empowering the elected representatives of the people to carry on the retail trade in alcoholic drink, to regulate it in the public interest, and to reap the profits of it for the public purse.

The other sets up a capitalist company, paying 4 per cent. or 5 per cent. to the shareholders, managed by Bishops and Lord Lieutenants, and wealthy respectabilities, who are to bestow the surplus profits on such objects as appear to their Lordships to be safe, beneficent, and unlikely to make the working classes discontented with the station in life to which providence has appointed them. That is the Public House Trust plan. The Temperance Legislation League has a similar proposal except that they allocate the profits over 4 per cent. to the national exchequer.

These company plans would be an advance on our present ridiculous system of private monopoly. But when the teetotalers who protested a few years ago that they would have nothing but local option now admit themselves converted to Trust Companies, and declare that this concession is final the wise man can only smile and wait. He smiles because company management is discredited in all other local monopolies. It is the method that dates from the days of turnpikes and tollbars, and it has become so unsuitable to the age that even the Tory Government disestablished its control of London water. But to our old-fashioned progressive Temperance reformers it appears to be just the most up-to-date plan for regulating a service that can no longer be left to competing individuals.

In fact, there is every reason why the control of the Liquor Trade should be placed under genuine public control. It is a matter which touches the masses who use public-houses, and does not directly concern the classes who never use them at all.

The "Don't touch the accursed thing" argument is already given up, since the companies are to provide drink, and hand over the profits to the hospitals or counter attractions.

### **Trust the People.**

It comes, then, to this: Municipalisers are prepared to trust to the good sense of the representatives of the people to manage the drink monopoly in the interests of the people, to promote sobriety in all reasonable ways; to avoid on the one hand, undue restrictions, and on the other improper laxity; to withstand any temptation to make excessive profits, and to spend their profits wisely and well in the public interest.

The latest school of Temperance Reformers, on the other hand, say that they can trust a private company of capitalists managed by a sort of local House of Lords, controlled by shareholders, big and little, but they will not trust the electors and the elected. They point, or at any rate, they should point, to the admirable management of our railway companies, such as the South-eastern and Chatham, to the efficiency of gas companies, water companies, dock companies, telephone companies, tram companies—all private concerns whose directors would assert that their purpose was to serve the public interest. So, say the latest school of Temperance Reformers, we will establish Beer Companies—with a limited dividend, no doubt—but as for Municipal Beer, Never!

But in next year's Annual, it may be that the teetotal "never" has become a "Well, hardly ever."

## TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION LEAGUE.

*President* : Lord Peel. *Chairman* : Sir Thomas P. Whittaker, M.P. *Treasurers* : Alex. Guthrie (Liverpool) and G. W. Brown (London). *Hon. Sec.* : Arthur Sherwell. *Sec.* : A. F. Harvey. *Offices* : Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

**Object.**—To promote Temperance Reform by Legislation and the effective administration of the Licensing Law.

Founded in November, 1905.

The "Present Policy" of the League for immediate legislation embraces, among others, the following items :—

- 1.—A Time Limit to the payment of compensation.
- 2.—Restoration and extension of the powers of the Local Licensing Authorities.
- 3.—An effective Local Option as to the granting or refusal of licences.
- 4.—A full and free discretion to the Local Licensing Authorities, wherever it has been decided to grant licences, to place them under "disinterested management," *i.e.*, to grant them to a company in which the financial interest of shareholders is limited to a small fixed percentage on the capital invested, all surplus profits being paid into the National Exchequer.

## INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS.

*Grand Chief Templar* : Joseph Malins, C.C., Birmingham.

### Grand Lodge of England.

*Hon. Sec.* : E. Oliver, 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

### Grand Lodge of Scotland.

*Hon. Sec.* : T. Honeyman, 40, St. Enoch's Square, Glasgow.

### Grand Lodge of Ireland.

*Hon. Sec.* : J. Haverson, City Chambers, Royal Avenue, Belfast.

THE International Order of Good Templars originated in America in 1851. Joseph Malins joined it there in 1866, and in 1868 returned and planted the Order in England, from whence it spread eastward. Now the greatest Total Abstinence organisation in the world. Its adult adherents are pledged to life-long abstinence from using or offering intoxicating drinks as a beverage. Its Juvenile branches have a further pledge against tobacco, bad language, and gambling. It admits both sexes on a perfect equality as to membership and all offices—women sometimes being made Presiding Officers. The Order consists of Local Lodges meeting weekly, County Lodges meeting quarterly, National Lodges meeting yearly, and an International Lodge meeting triennially.

It is a social fraternity whose political bias is for Temperance legislation. Each session opens with the Lord's Prayer, or the like. It has given a Lifeboat, endowed a Ward in the London Temperance Hospital, and founded an Orphanage. The British Isles have about 250,000 members in 3,000 adult and 1,000 junior branches meeting weekly. There are about 250 branches in the army and navy.

Norway, Sweden, and Germany have a great membership, and most other European lands have branches, as have Asiatic lands and all African and Australian Colonies. The Rituals are printed in 15 languages. Its total membership is about 600,000 in over 11,000 branches.



## THE UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

*Pres.* : Mr. Leif Jones, M.P. *Treas.* : Mr. W. J. Crossley, M.P. *Hon. Sec.* :  
Rev. Canon E. L. Hicks, M.A. *Sec.* : Mr. W. Williams. *Parliamentary*  
*Agent* : Mr. J. Newton. *Head Office* : 16, Deansgate, Manchester. *London*  
*and Parliamentary Office* : 20, Tothill St., Westminster.

DEMANDS from Parliament for each local community the power to prevent, by direct vote, the issue of licenses within its own borders, irrespective of the composition of the Licensing Authority, or the nature of the Company which proposes to sell liquor. Supports all measures which restrict the liquor traffic, however small.

Its agents and speakers address about 2,500 meetings per annum in the towns and villages of England and Wales.

Official organ: *The Alliance News*, 1d. weekly. The largest Temperance weekly journal in the world; Mr. R. A. Jameson, editor.

## NATIONAL UNITED TEMPERANCE COUNCIL.

*President* : A. F. Hills, D.L. *Treasurer* : W. Chappell. *Chairman* : Rev. Joseph Johnson. *Secretary and Editor* : Charles Pinhorn. *Offices* :  
28, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.

**Objects.**—The Council was formed in 1895, and devotes itself primarily to securing in various localities a due administration of the Licensing Law (1) by prompting the police authorities to action, (2) by opposing the grant of additional licences and renewal of licences to badly conducted and superfluous premises.

In legislation it supplied information to the late Lord Ritchie as a guide to his Bill of 1902, and some of its suggestions were embodied in the best parts of the Bill of 1904.

It makes no stipulation as to membership, but provides that its officers and committee shall be Total Abstinents.

## CENTRAL PUBLIC-HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION.

*President* : Earl of Lytton. *Secretary* : Mr. Hugh Paget. *Offices* : 15, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

**Objects.**—To promote Temperance by removing from the retail sale of liquor all elements of private profit.

**Mode of Procedure.**—The movement aims at forming a Public-house Trust Company in each county under the direction of local gentlemen of public spirit. The maximum dividend payable to the shareholders is 5 per cent.; surplus profits are devoted to the benefit of the public and where possible the provision of counter-attractions to the public-house.

In each public-house acquired the manager is employed at a fixed salary with commission on the sale of food and non-alcoholics but no commission on the sale of beer or spirits.

**Progress.**—This movement has spread rapidly from the outset. Thirty-eight Trust Companies are already formed, and the number of public-houses under management is over 200, and is increasing week by week.

# LAND AND HOUSING.

## THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT.

**Garden City Association.**—*Secretary*: E. G. Culpin. *Offices*: 348, Birkbeck Bank Chambers, Holborn, W.C.

**Objects.**—To promote the relief of overcrowded areas, and to secure a wider distribution of the population over the land, by advocating and assisting in the establishment of Garden Cities designed from the outset to secure healthful and adequate housing for the whole population, and in which the inhabitants shall become in a collective capacity the owners of the sites, subject to full recognition of public as well as individual interests; by encouraging the tendency of manufacturers to remove their works from congested centres to the country; by co-operating or advising with such firms, public bodies, and other associations to secure better housing accommodation for workpeople near to their places of employment.

The Association is supported by voluntary subscriptions, the minimum being 5s. per annum.

The Garden City experiment at Letchworth has made excellent progress during the past year, and it is already a city in being. Houses are being built with great rapidity, and the population is quickly increasing. Several manufacturers have arranged to transfer their businesses to Letchworth, and premises are being constructed for their accommodation. The Association is also engaged in promoting a second Garden City experiment in the North of England.

The Norton Small Holdings Association (*Secretary*: Crossley Greenwood, Norton Hall, via Baldock, Herts) has been started for the purpose of establishing Small Holdings on the "Agricultural Belt" at the Garden City, Letchworth. The committee has received a large number of applications for land, and has selected tenants whose holdings vary from two acres to 25 acres.

As the result of an agitation by Mrs. Samuel Barnett a large tract of land contiguous to Hampstead Heath has been acquired by another association working on similar lines to the Garden City Association, with the object of providing suitable housing accommodation for mixed classes of society upon a plan which gives most of the advantages of the Garden City on the very fringe of London.

The Bourneville Village Trust, which was formed in 1900 to administer the village and estate in which it is placed, comprises 502 acres, and has a population of about 3,000. The village was built by Mr. George Cadbury, who gave it and the estate to the nation to be administered by Trustees. The deed of foundation enacts that all revenue, after providing for repairs, maintenance, &c., shall be used for building more cottages, purchasing more land, and generally improving working class dwellings throughout Great Britain. The chief event of the past year has been the presentation by Mr. Cadbury to the village of new elementary schools at a cost of £30,000. The secretary is Mr. J. H. Barlow, Estate Offices, Bournville, near Birmingham.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE SMALL HOLDINGS SOCIETY.

*President*: Right Hon. the Earl of Stamford. *Secretary*: W. A. Moore.  
*Offices*: 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C.

**Object.**—To promote Small Holdings in any part of Great Britain. The chief work of the year has been the publication of a work entitled "The Small

Holdings of England: An Inquiry into the Conditions of Success," by L. Jebb. A number of additional reports and a great deal of investigation work has been completed this year, and a mass of evidence has been supplied to the Departmental Committee on Small Holdings. Landlords have also been assisted when creating Small Holdings on their estates.

## THE AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY.

*President* : R. A. Yerburgh, Esq. *Secretary* : Mr. Nugent Harris. *Offices* : Dacre House, Dacre Street, Westminster, S.W.

**Object.**—To organise agriculture on co-operative lines following upon the experience gained by similar experiments in Denmark, Holland, Italy, and other countries. Affiliated societies now exist in 37 different counties in Great Britain, and the total membership is estimated at 10,000, having an aggregate turnover of over £250,000. This work has the strong support of Earl Carrington, the present Minister of Agriculture, and it is rapidly extending.

## THE RURAL HOUSING AND SANITATION ASSOCIATION.

*Offices* : 9, Southampton Street, Holborn, W.C. *Secretary* : Miss A. Churton.

**Object.**—To secure the provision of suitable houses for workers in rural districts.

During the year this Association has drawn the attention of many local authorities to the unsatisfactory conditions existing in their area, and collected information as to the needs of special localities. Its help has been sought by public bodies and by private individuals on various matters connected with Public Health Acts, affecting housing, sanitation, and water supply in country districts.

## THE METROPOLITAN PUBLIC GARDENS ASSOCIATION.

*Patrons* : H.M. the King and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. *Chairman and Hon. Treasurer* : The Earl of Meath. *Hon. Secretary* : Mrs. Holmes.

*Landscape Gardener* : Miss M. Agar. *Secretary* : Basil Holmes, Esq.

*Offices* : 83, Lancaster Gate, W.

**Object.**—This Association exists to preserve and provide resting-places for the aged, and recreation and playgrounds for adults and children within the Metropolitan area. It seeks to add to the health and beauty of London by planting trees and placing seats in public thoroughfares, and assisting in the formation of public gymnasia. Since its formation the Association has carried out nearly 500 successful pieces of work on the above lines. It has added over 100 public gardens and playgrounds to the open spaces of London, provided hundreds of public seats, and 45 drinking fountains.

During the last year two public gardens and one playground have been laid out, eight sites have been furnished with about 100 seats, three grants of gymnastic apparatus have been made, tree planting has been undertaken in two localities, three schemes for securing 150 acres of public parks have been promoted, two Bills affecting open spaces have been successfully opposed, and efforts have been made to encourage window gardens. The Association was able to give work to 30 of the Unemployed last winter.

## LAND NATIONALISATION SOCIETY.

*President* : Alfred Russell Wallace, D.C.L. (Oxon), F.R.S. *Treasurer* : G. A. Hardy, L.C.C. *Hon. Sec.* : C. M. Bailhache, LL.B. *Chairman* : A. W. Payne, F.C.A. *Gen. Sec.* : Joseph Hyder. *Assist. Sec.* : H. A. Aldridge. *Monthly Journal* : *Land and Labour*. *Offices* : 432, West Strand, London, W.C.

The work of this Society has been carried on with vigour throughout the year; and considerable propaganda work in the provinces has been undertaken. Of the three travelling lecture vans owned by the Society two have been employed during the summer, one in Lancashire, and one in Kent, while the third has not been used owing to insufficient funds. The Tax and Buy Land Bill promoted by the Society during the last Parliament has been again introduced into the House of Commons, and it has a great number of supporters. It seeks to compel landlords to declare the value of each site in their possession upon a special basis, and upon this declared value the local authorities are to levy a rate not exceeding one penny in the pound. They are also further empowered to acquire land by compulsory purchase, and use the land for any purpose within their powers. The chief work of the Society is educational, and a good deal is expected from the work of the 120 members of Parliament who are definitely connected with the society. The General Election showed a great advance in opinion in respect to the public ownership of the land, and a measure is expected from the Government dealing with the question.

## ENGLISH LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

*President* : J. H. Whitley, M.P. *Hon. Gen. Treasurer* : Lewis H. Berens. *Monthly paper* : "Land Values" (one penny). *Gen. Secretary* : Fredk. Verinder. *Offices* : 376 and 377, Strand, London, W.C.

The object of this League is sufficiently explained in its title. During the year a strenuous propaganda has been carried on, and the question of the taxation of Land Values has aroused great interest both in Parliament and in the country. At the General Election, 60 members of the League stood as candidates, of whom 45 were successful. The President of the League has promoted a Sessional Committee for the advocacy of the Taxation of Land Values, which has been joined by about 280 members. Draft clauses for the valuation of land have been prepared, and submitted to the Government. At the suggestion of the committee, the Government has issued as a White paper (No. 173 of 1906), a translation of Prussian State documents as to the introduction of the Assessment Real Estate on the basis of its market value for local purposes.

## SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

*President* : Jas. Fairlie (Falkirk). 21 *Vice-Presidents*. *Hon. Treasurer* : David Cassells. *Secretary* : John Paul. *Offices* : 13, Dundas Street, Glasgow.

Until 1904 the work of the League was carried on under the name of the Scottish Single Tax League. There is also a League in Edinburgh. *Hon. secretary*, G. D. Valentine, 13, Pitt Street.

During the year the League took an active part in the General Election,

publishing half-a-million copies of explanatory leaflets on the Taxation of Land Values and Mining Royalties, and one containing questions to candidates. Of the 72 members of the new House of Commons, 58 are pledged to the Taxation of Land Values. In view of the public interest in the Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill caused by the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, March 23rd, by a majority of 258, the League has been unusually active. A Special Manifesto, dealing with the need for a separate Valuation of Land and Buildings as a necessary first step in legislation, was published.

Assorted pamphlets and leaflets will be sent free to any address on application to the Secretary.

## WORKMEN'S NATIONAL HOUSING COUNCIL.

*Secretary* : Fred Knee, 120, Sugden Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.

MUCH of the effort of this Council for the past year has been of a Parliamentary nature. Candidates to the present Parliament were urged to "seize every opportunity to advocate and support the granting of money from the Imperial Exchequer to enable local authorities in town or country to build houses for all sections of workers." Since the General Election members have been canvassed to make the housing question their special interest in the House, but owing to the general desire among the workmen that the Trades Disputes Bill and the Workmen's Compensation Bill should take precedence of other working-class measures new legislation has not been found possible. Propaganda work has been done in the country, and a successful Joint Housing Conference has been held at Liverpool. The Council publishes the *Housing Journal* at irregular intervals, but poverty greatly restricts its operations.

## LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION.

*President* : Right Hon. Sir Walter Foster, M.P. *Hon. Treasurer* : Walter Hazell. *Hon. Secretary* : James Rowlands, M.P. *Financial Secretary* : F. A. Creed. *Offices* : 21, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

THIS society is the successor of the Land Tenure Reform Association, founded more than 30 years ago, of which John Stuart Mill was president. It comprises two Associations : The Leasehold Enfranchisement Association, founded in 1883, and the Free Land League, founded in 1885.

The principal work of the Association for this year has consisted in Conferences on the land question held in various parts of the country. At these conferences resolutions were carried declaring that the evils of overcrowding in towns and rural districts could best be mitigated and the prosperity of agriculture increased by : Giving the tenant absolute freedom and security in improving his holding ; by creating more elastic and workable machinery for the development of small holdings ; by giving local authorities compulsory powers to acquire land by hire or purchase ; by promoting the better organisation of agriculture, and by giving local authorities power to acquire land for cottages and adequate garden allotments attached to them. The Association also strongly advocates the taxation of Land Values. Many of its members were elected to Parliament at the General Election.

# OTHER REFORM SOCIETIES.

## THE UNION OF ETHICAL SOCIETIES.

*Central Office:* 19, Buckingham St., W.C. *Secs.:* Harry Snell and Miss F. Winterbottom.

THE Union of Ethical Societies is a federation of Ethical Societies and Labour Churches in different parts of the United Kingdom. Each federated Society has the right to elect two delegates, and in addition one for the first full hundred subscribing members, and one for each additional full 50 subscribing members, to the central governing body. These form the Council of the Union of Ethical Societies, which conducts all the central business of the societies it represents. It appoints its own officers, elects and controls its special committees, raises funds for the work of the Ethical Movement, prints and circulates literature, and pays accounts.

The Union of Ethical Societies maintains a valuable philosophical and scientific library; it has published a collection of hymns selected from the writings of the chief English poets, suitable for congregations who prefer to use hymns free from theological implications. To these hymns tunes have been composed or adapted. The Union is at present engaged in preparing a collection of non-theological solos, cantatas, anthems, &c., as well as ceremonies for the naming of children, marriage, and funeral services, for the use of those to whom the ordinary church services are no longer acceptable.

Individuals can become associated members of the Union, which is greatly in need of funds.

The following are the official principles of the Union:—

**General Object.**—To advocate the supreme importance of the knowledge, love, and practice of the right.

**Principles.**—(1) In all the relations of life—personal, social, and political—the moral factor should be the supreme consideration.

(2) The love of goodness and the love of one's fellows are the true motives for right conduct; and self-reliance and co-operation are the true sources of help.

(3) Knowledge of the Right has been evolving through the experience of the human race; therefore the moral obligations generally accepted by the most civilised communities should be taken as the starting point in the advocacy of a progressive ideal of personal and social righteousness.

(4) For each individual, after due consideration of the convictions of others, the final authority as to the right or wrong of any opinion or action should be his own conscientious and reasoned judgment.

(5) The true well-being of society requires such economic and other conditions as afford the largest scope for the moral development of all its members.

(6) The scientific method should be applied in studying the facts of the moral life.

(7) The moral life involves neither acceptance nor rejection of belief in any deity, personal or impersonal, or in a life after death.

(8) The acceptance of any one ultimate criterion of right should not be made a condition of ethical fellowship.

(9) Ethical fellowships are the most powerful means of encouraging the knowledge and love of right principles of conduct, and of giving the strength of character necessary to realise them in action.

## THE PEACE SOCIETY.

*President* : R. Spence Watson, Esq., LL.D. *Secretary* : W. Evans Darby, LL.D. *Offices* : 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

**Object.**—The promotion of permanent and universal peace. With this in view, it advocates Arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. It has long recommended the establishment of an international Court, such as now exists at The Hague ; also a gradual, proportionate, and simultaneous disarmament of the nations.

This Society claims as part of the fruits of its labours, the welcome tendencies to peace seen in many quarters of the globe. During the past year its work has been carried on with undiminished vigour. A consistent agitation has been carried on in London and the provinces, while its monthly *Herald of Peace* has continued to appear. The work attending the General Election was very heavy, while the preparations for Peace Sunday entail the postage of about 40,000 letters. The Society rejoices in the new pacific relationships that are being fostered between nations, and it looks for a new era of peace to begin with the meeting of the next Hague Conference.

## SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT,

*President* : Dr. Oldfield. *Hon. Sec.* : Carl Heath, 58, Montem Road, Forest Hill, S.E.

**Object.**—The exclusion of various forms of homicide from the category to which the death penalty is applied, and the ultimate abolition of Capital Punishment.

This Society was founded in 1901, and much work of an educational description has been done during the last five years by the distribution of literature, through the Press, by meetings, conferences, &c. A register of all death sentences is kept, as well as one in which the unsustained charges are recorded. Correspondents are being formed in each Assize district, so that the Society may have at its disposal full information before applying to the Home Secretary for a reprieve for any convicted case.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

*President* : Rt. Hon. A. H. D. Acland. *Treasurer* : Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley. *Secretary* : A. J. Mundella. *Offices* : Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.

THE main objects of this Association are to promote efficient, progressive, and unsectarian education under proper public control, and to secure the universal establishment of representative authorities having control over the unsectarian schools within their area.

The General Election and the Education Bill of the Government have absorbed practically the whole strength of the Association during the year. It has undertaken considerable propaganda work and has prepared and distributed a great deal of literature bearing on the question.

## ESPERANTO FOR SOCIALISTS.

BY W. W. PADFIELD.

THE proposed International Language "Esperanto," having made remarkable progress during the last few years in almost every country, efforts are now on foot for pressing it into the service of Socialism. In the autumn of 1905, Einar Hakansson, of Sweden, proposed to establish an International Correspondence League for Esperantist-Socialists, and many Socialists of various nations were put into communication with one another. It was felt, however, that the principal need was for a Socialist Journal in Esperanto. The task of editing this journal has been undertaken by a group of Esperantists at Geneva, (address: M. Verema, Case 4967, Central, Geneva). It is hoped that the first number will shortly appear.

The distinguishing feature of Esperanto is its simplicity. The Grammar is free from irregularities, and the number of grammatical forms has been reduced to a minimum. The vocabulary consists of only a small number of international roots, but from each root a large number of additional words can be formed by means of prefixes and suffixes. The language is thus very easy to learn, and quite within the reach of the working classes. It has been used and found suitable at International Congresses, notably at the Congress of "Christian Endeavourers" in 1906; and experience shows that it may be learnt, and a correct pronunciation acquired, from books only. It therefore seems well adapted to the requirements of the Socialist movement, and there is reason to hope that in the near future it will greatly aid in the uniting of Socialists for common action throughout the world.

## SOCIETY FOR THE LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE PATRONAGE AND CONTROL.

*President:* Rev. John Clifford, D.D. *Secretaries:* Mr. J. Fisher and Mr. Sydney Robjohns. *Offices:* 2, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

**Object.**—(1) The abrogation of all laws and usages which inflict disability, or confer privilege, on ecclesiastical grounds, upon any subject of the realm. (2) The discontinuance of all payments from public funds, and of all compulsory exactions, for religious purposes. (3) The application to strictly national purposes of the national property now devoted to the uses of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland; and, concurrently therewith, the liberation of those Churches from State control.

The platform work of this Society has been extensive, a great number of demonstrations, meetings, and lectures having been held in various parts of the country. Lantern lectures have been a speciality. New publications have been issued dealing with the French Separation Law, the proposed Irish Catholic University Education, the Liberator Jubilee Review of the work of the Society, in addition to the issue of special tracts for the purpose of the General Election. The results of the elections were satisfactory to the Society, inasmuch as 18 members of its own Committee and an unprecedented number of its supporters were elected. One of its vice-presidents, Mr. Lloyd-George, is in the Cabinet, and the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales forms part of the Government programme.



# DIRECTORY OF SOCIETIES

## ARBITRATION (INDUSTRIAL) AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

**Industrial Union of Employers and Employed**, Employers' sec., T. Smithies Taylor, Stoughton Street Works, Leicester; Men's sec., W. J. Davies, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.

**Joint Board of Arbitration**, composed of representatives from the Scottish Section of the Co-operative Union, Ltd., and the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trades Union Congress. Sec., Jas. Deans, 71, St. James Street, Kingston, Glasgow.

**Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators**, J. C. Gray, J.P., sec., Long Millgate, Manchester.

**London Labour Conciliation and Arbitration Board**, K. B. Murray, London Chamber of Commerce, Oxford Court, near 109, Cannon Street, E.C.

## ARBITRATION (INTERNATIONAL) AND PEACE.

**Anglo-German Friendship Committee (1906)**, Francis W. Fox, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.

**Bureau International de la Haye (Arbitration)**, M. L. H. Ruysennaers, sec., 71, Pritzergracht, The Hague.

**Bureau International de la Paix**, Kanonenweg 12, Berne, Switzerland.

**Bureau Interparlementaire**, Administrateur, M. Gobat, Conseiller National, Berne, Switzerland.

**Comité Nobel du Parlement Norvégien (Prix Nobel de la Paix)**, Louis C. Lange, Drammensvei 19, Christiania, Norway.

**Institut International de la Paix**, Edmond Izard, Monaco.

**Internat. Arbitration League**, W. R. Cremer, M.P., 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

**Internat. Arbitration and Peace Assn.**, J. F. Green, 40, Outer Temple, W.C.

**International Law Association**, T. Baty, D.C.L., and G. G. Phillimore, hon. secs., 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, E.C.

**International Peace Bureau** (Permanent Committee), Kanonenweg 12, Berne.

**Peace Committee of Society of Friends**, 12, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C.

**Peace, Internat. Union of**, W. T. Stead, Mowbray Ho., Norfolk St., W.C.

**Peace Society**, Dr. W. E. Darby, sec., 47, New Broad Street, E.C.

**National Council of Peace Societies**, J. F. Green, 40, Outer Temple, E.C.

**W. of Scotland Peace and Arbit. Soc.**, W. J. Begg, 150, Hope St., Glasgow.

## ANTI-VICE.

**Friends' Assoc. for Abol. of State Regulation of Vice**, Maurice Gregory, sec., 19, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C.

**Internat. Fed. for Abol. of State Regul. of Vice**, Prof. Stuart, M.P., hon. sec., 17-18, Tothill St., S.W.

**Ladies' Nat. Assoc. for Abol. of Gov. Regul. of Vice**, 17-18, Tothill St., S.W.

**London Council for Promotion of Public Morality**, 37, Norfolk St., W.C.

**National Vigilance Association**, 319, High Holborn, W.C.

**Snowdrop Band**, Mrs. Watson, Southwold, Taptown Cres., Sheffield.

**Society for Promoting Public Morality**, 37, Norfolk Street, W.C.

**Social Purity Alliance**, E. Hammond, sec., 17-18, Tothill St., Westminster, S.W.

**White Cross League**, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

**CO-OPERATIVE.**

**Allot. and Small Holdings Assn.** Sec., C. B. Sturge, 35, Moor St., Birm.  
**Agricultural Organisation Soc., Ltd.** (educational), Dacre House, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Agricultural Co-operative Fed., Ltd.** (trading), Dacre House, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Co-operative Brotherhood Trust, Ltd.,** sec., 37, Newington Green Road, N.  
**Co-operative Institute Society,** Hart Street, Bloomsbury.  
**Co-operative Insurance Society,** J. Odgers, sec., Long Millgate, Manchester.  
**Co-operative Legal Aid Assn.,** 40, Outer Temple, W.C.  
**Co-operative Productive Fed.,** R. Halstead, 1, Narborough Road, Leicester.  
**Co-operative Union,** 2, Nicholas Croft, High Street, Manchester.  
**Co-operative Wholesale Society,** Balloon Street, Manchester.  
**Co-part. Tenants Housing Council,** F. Whitfield, F.S.S., hon. sec., 22, Red Lion Sq., Holborn, W.C.  
**International Co-operative Alliance,** 22, Red Lion Square, W.C.  
**Irish Co-operative Agency Society,** 13, William Street, Limerick.  
**Irish Co-operative Wholesale Society,** 151, Thomas Street, Dublin.  
**Labour Co-Partnership Assn.,** 22, Red Lion Square, W.C.  
**Land Improvement Company,** 1, Great George St., Westminster, S.W.  
**Leicester Co-op. Small Holdings Assn.** Sec., W. H. Barton, 4, Union St., Leicester.  
**National Co-operative Festival Society,** 22, Red Lion Square, W.C.  
**Northern Allotments Society.** Sec., Joseph W. Wakinshaw, Westerhope.  
**Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society,** 95, Morrison Street, Glasgow.  
**Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild,** 1, Orwell Terrace, Edinburgh.  
**Small Holdings Assn.** Sec., Prof. Jas. Long, Cudworth Manor, Newdigate, Surrey.  
**Lincolnshire Small Holdings Assn.** Sec., J. H. Diggle, Moulton, nr. Spalding.  
**Urban Co-operative Banks' Assocn.,** H. C. Devine, 39, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Women's Co-operative Guild,** Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland.

**ECONOMIC, FISCAL, &c.**

**Trade Union Club (Free Trade),** J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P., sec., Caxton House Westminster, S.W.  
**Financial Reform Assoc.,** J. W. S. Callie, 18, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.  
**Free Trade Union,** 8, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Land and Values, English League for Taxation of,** 376-7, Strand, W.C.  
**Land and Values, Scottish League for Taxation of,** 13, Dundas St., Glasgow.  
**Liberalist Free Trade Club,** 38, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Women's Free Trade Union,** 8, Victoria St., S.W.

**EDUCATIONAL.**

**Committee for Schools Assn.,** 29, Queen St., Bloomsbury, W.C.  
**Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Working Men,** Manchester.  
**Ray's Institution for Founding Libraries,** 19, Delahay St., Westminster, S.W.  
 **Carnegie Trust for Universities of Scotland,** W. S. Cormick, sec., 2, St. Andrew's Square, Cambridge.  
**Childhood Society,** to study mental and physical conditions, W. J. Durrie Melford, sec., Parkes Museum, 74, Margaret Street, W.  
**Co-education, Society for Promoting,** 121, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W.  
**College for Men and Women,** 29, Queen St., Bloomsbury, W.C.  
**Freobel Soc. and National Freobel Union,** 4, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.  
**Home Reading Union, National,** Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.

- Internat. Assn. for Advancement of Science, Art, and Education**, Prof. P. Geddes, Outlook Tower, Edinburgh.
- Kyrle Society** (Art and Music for the people), 49, Manchester Street, W.
- London Progressive Education Council**, Surrey Ho., Victoria Embkt., E.C.
- London School of Economics**, Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C.
- London University Extension Office**, J. Holland Rose, Charterhouse, E.C.
- Moral Instruction League**, Harrold Johnson, sec., 19, Buckingham St., W.C.
- Nat. Council of Adult School Associations**, Edwin Gilbert, sec., 198, Clarendon Park Road, Leicester.
- National Education Assn.**, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.
- Physical Education and Improvement, National League for**, B. Halley, sec., 49-50, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W.
- Pure Literature Society**, 11, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Ruskin Halls**, Walton Street, Oxford; 20, Every Street, Ancoats, Manchester.
- Ruskin College Educational League** (London District), W. Dowsett, Room 55, 66, Basinghall St., E.C.
- Ruskin Union**, Rev. J. B. Booth, E4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.
- Sloyd Assn. of Great Britain and Ireland** (manual training), J. Cooke, sec., 131, Percy Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- University Extension, Cambridge**, R. D. Roberts, M.A., sec., Syndicate Buildings, Cambridge.
- University Extension, Oxford**, J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., sec., University Extension Delegacy, Oxford.
- Working Men's College**, Crowndale Road, St. Pancras, N.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

- Anglo-American League**, Dr. P. C. Maxwell, sec., Trafalgar Bldgs., Northumberland Av., W.C.
- Balkan Committee**, sec., W. Moore, 10, Adelphi Ter., Strand, W.C.
- Byron Society**, hon. sec., Edward Atkin, 3, Plowden Bldgs., Temple, E.C.
- Congo Reform Association**, sec., E. D. Morel, 4, Oldhall Street, Liverpool.
- Entente Cordiale**, hon. sec., W. H. Sands, 5, Fig Tree Court, Temple, E.C.
- Friends of Armenia**, Miss E. Cantlow, 47, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W.
- Friends of Russian Freedom**, J. F. Green, 40, Outer Temple, Strand, W.C.
- Opium Trade, Soc. for Suppression of**, 181, Queen Victoria St., E.C.

### HUMANITARIAN.

- Anti-Bearing Rein Society**, E. Bell, York House, Portugal Street, W.C.
- Brabazon Employment Scheme** (for Paupers), Miss Castledon, Canterbury House, Richmond, Surrey.
- Brit. U. for Aboln. of Vivisection**, hon. sec., Dr. Hadwen, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.
- Canine Defence League**, sec., J. Hughes, 27, Regent St., S.W.
- Children's National Guild of Courtesy**, 8, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.
- Committee on Wage-earning Children**, 60, Bedford Gdns., Kensington, W.
- Congress (International) for Welfare and Protection of Children**, W. G. Lewis, 8, Wells Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.
- Discharged Prisoners' Aid Soc.**, J. S. Maddison, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.
- Dumb Friends League**, sec., A. J. Coke, 118, Victoria St., S.W.
- Feeble-minded, Nat. Soc. for Promoting Welfare of**, 53, Victoria St., W.
- Foreigners in Distress, Society of Friends of**, 20, New Broad St., E.C.

- Howard Association**, sec., Thos. Holmes, Devonshire Chrs., Bishopsgate Without, E.C.
- Humanitarian League**, hon. sec., H. S. Salt, 53, Chancery Lane, W.C.
- International Anti-Vivisection Council**, 32, Sackville Street, W.
- Kindness to Animals Soc.**, Westow Vicarage, Kirkham Abbey, York.
- London Anti-Vivisection Society**, Sidney Trist, sec., 13, Regent St., S.W.
- London Schools Dinner Assn.**, 117, School Board Offices, Embankment, E.C.
- Ministering Children's League**, Mrs. Arthur Phillip, organising sec., c/o Countess of Meath, 83, Lancaster Gate, W.
- National Anti-Vivisection Soc.**, Stephen Coleridge, hon. sec., 92, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W.
- Nat. Soc. for Preven. of Cruelty to Children**, R. J. Parr, Leicester Sq., W.C.
- Parliamentary Assn. of the British Union for Abolition of Vivisection**, Atherley Jones, K.C., M.P., hon. sec., Parliament Mns., Victoria St. S.W.
- Ragged School Union**, John Kirk, 32, John St., Bedford Row, W.C.
- Romilly Soc.:** Criminal Law Amendt., T. Close Smith, sec., Goldsmith Bldgs., Temple, E.C.
- Royal Soc. for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals**, 105, Jermyn St., S.W.
- Social and Pol. Educn. League**, H. Knight, 5, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
- Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts**, 9, Conduit Street, W.
- Sunday Lecture Society**, 10, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Scottish Anti-Vaccination League**, W. J. Begg, sec., 150, Hope St., Glasgow.
- State Children's Assn.**, 58, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- Toynbee Hall Education Committee**, W. R. L. Blackiston, B.A., hon. sec., Commercial Street, E.
- Women and Children, Associated Soc. for Protection of**, 60, Haymarket, S.W.

### IMPERIAL QUESTIONS.

- Aborigines Protection Soc.**, sec., H. R. Fox Bourne, Broadway Chambers, S.W.
- Anti-Slavery Society**, 51, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W.
- Indian National Congress**, British Committee of, W. D. Hall, sec., 9, Bridge St., S.W.
- Imperial Federalist Association**, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.
- Imperial Fed. (Defence) Comtee.**, H. D'Egville, 11A, Princes St., Westminster, S.W.
- Native Races and the Liquor Traffic, United Committee**, L. H. Nott, sec., 139, Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge St., Westminster, S.W.

### LAND AND HOUSING.

- Agricultural Organisations Soc., Ltd.**, Dacre Ho., Dacre St., Victoria St., S.W.
- Allotments and Small Holdings Assoc.**, C. D. Sturge, sec., 116, Vivian Rd., Harborne, Birmingham.
- British Garden Cities, Ltd.**, 30, Charing Cross, W.C.
- Commons and Footpaths Preserv. Soc.**, 25, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W.
- Ealing Tenants, Co-op. Soc.**, Isabel Cooke, sec., Woodfield Rd., Ealing.
- East London Tenants' Protection Committee** (free legal advice), H. S. Lewis, Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial Street, Whitechapel, E.
- English Land Colonisation Soc.**, 29, Old Queen Street, S.W.
- Garden City Assoc.**, E. G. Culpin, 348-351, Birkbeck Bank Chhrs., W.C.
- Highways Protection League**, W. L. L. Bell, 4, Harcourt Bldgs., Temple, E.C.
- Land Law Reform Assn.**, F. A. Creed, sec., 21, John St., Adelphi, Strand, W.C.
- Land Nationalisation Society**, Jos. Hyder.
- Land Values, English League for Taxation of**, 376-7, Strand, W.C.

**Land Values, Scottish League for Taxation of**, 13, Dundas St., Glasgow.  
**Mansion House Council on Dwellings of Poor**, 31, Imperial Bldgs., Ludgate Circus, E.C.  
**Metropolitan Assn. for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes**, 1, Pancras Square, N.W.  
**National Housing Reform Council**, H. R. Aldridge, 432, W. Strand, W.C.  
**National Workmen's Housing Council**, Fred. Knee, 53A, Fetter Lane, E.C.  
**Roads Improvement Assoc.**, W. Rees Jeffreys, hon. sec., 1, Albemarle St., Piccadilly, W.  
**Rural Housing and Sanitation Assocn.**, Miss A. Churton, 9, Southampton St., High Holborn, W.C.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL.

**Belfast Citizens' Association**, A. H. Muir, sec., 2, Wellington St., Belfast.  
**Bradford City Guild of Help**, Walter Milledge, sec., City Chambers, 2, Darley Street, Bradford.  
**Darlington Municipal Reform League**, W. Haw, sec., 11, Katherine St., Darlington.  
**Local Government Information Bureau**, c/o Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, W.C.; and c/o I.L.P., 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.  
**London Presbyterian Social Service Union**, Dr. Charles Gray, hon. sec., 1, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.  
**London Reform Union**, F.W. Galton, Trafalgar Bldgs., N'thum'nd Av., W.C.  
**Manchester Citizens' Assn.**, T. R. Marr, sec., Ancoats Hall, Manchester.  
**Outer London Inquiry**, G. E. Arkell, School of Economics, Clare Mkt., W.C.  
**Women's Local Govt. Soc.**, Miss Berry, assist. sec., 17, Tothill St., Westminster, S.W.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Advertising, Soc. for Checking Abuses**, 1, Camp View, Wimbledon Com., S.W.  
**Anti-Gambling League**, hon. sec., J. Hawke, 13, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Anti-Vaccination League, National**, C. Gane, sec., 50, Parliament St., S.W.  
**Capital Punishment, Society for the Abolition of**, hon. sec., Carl Heath, 58, Montem Road, Forest Hill, S.E.  
**Coal Smoke Abatement Society**, 59, Chancery Lane, W.C.  
**Cremation Society**, sec. G. A. Noble, 324, Regent Street, W.  
**Cremation Soc., Scottish**, R. K. Thomson, 142, St. Vincent St., Glasgow.  
**Decimal Assn.**, 605, Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.  
**Early Closing Assn.**, J. A. Stacey, sec., 21, New Bridge Street, E.C.  
**Early Closing Assn., Voluntary**, A. N. Tessier, sec., 1, Arthur St., E.C.  
**Esperanto Assn., Brit.**, hon. sec., Harold Clegg, 14, Norfolk St., W.C.  
**Ito. The Jewish Territorial Organisation**, 15, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.  
**Marriage Law Defence Union**, E. H. Blackett-Ord, sec., Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.  
**Passive Resistance Committee, Nat.**, J. Everett, 83, Memorial Hall, E.C.  
**Peabody Donation Fund**, F. B. Crouch, sec., 64, Queen St., E.C.  
**Personal Rights Assoc.**, J. H. Levy, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.  
**Premature Burial, London Assn. for Prevention of**, sec., Dr. J. Stenson Hooker, 44, Gloucester Pl., W.  
**Prot. of Public agst. Police Oppression**, J. Timewell, 141, Gower St., W.C.  
**Psychical Research, Society for**, 20, Hanover Sq., W.  
**Rational Dress League**, Mrs. Hartung, hon. sec., 10, Guildford St., W.C.

**Society of Comparative Legislation**, 8, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.  
**Vegetarian Federal Union**, Memorial Hall, Farringdon St., E.C.  
**Vegetarian Soc.**, Albert Broadbent, 257, Deansgate, Manchester.  
**Weights and Measures Asscn.**, British, 25, Victoria St., S.W.

### POLITICAL. See pages 77-86.

### RECREATIVE.

**Adult School Union**, London, A. Peverett, hon. sec., 47, Millman St., W.C.  
**Anti-Puritan League**, Cecil Chesterton, hon. sec., 11, Warwick Gardens, W.  
**Children's Happy Evenings Assn.**, Miss Ada Heather-Bigg, 14, Radnor Place, Hyde Park, W., and 47, Brook Street, W.  
**Children's Country Holiday Fund**, 18, Buckingham St., Strand, W.C.  
**"Clarion" Clubs** (Cyclist, Handicraft, Vocal, Social, &c.), 44, Worship St., E.C.  
**Co-operative Holidays Assn.**, T. A. Leonard, sec., Hayfield, Stockport.  
**Court and Alley Concerts**, H. Lee J. Jones, 119, Limekiln Lane, Liverpool.  
**Elizabethan Stage Society**, 90, College Street, Chelsea, S.W.  
**Entertainment Reform League**, 7, Pall Mall, S.W.  
**First of May Celebration Committee**, A. J. Tomkins, sec., 425, Mile End Road, E.  
**Guild of Social Intercourse**, Miss A. G. Matthews, 2, Southwood Lane, Highgate.  
**London Playing Fields Society**, sec., G. J. Mordaunt, 45, Gloucester Street, S.W.  
**Metropolitan Public Gardens' Association**, 83, Lancaster Gate, W.  
**National Physical Recreation Society**, E. Sully, Exeter Hall, Strand, W.C.  
**National Sunday League**, 34, Red Lion Square, W.C.  
**People's Concert Society**, Mrs. Arthur Smith, 122, Beaufort St., Chelsea, S.W.  
**People's Entertainment Soc.**, J. M. Crament, De Vere Gdns., Kens., W.  
**Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Fed.**, Rev. W. Stephens, sec., 74, Avondale Sq., S.E.  
**P.S.A.**, London Fed., G. Clayton Ridge, 79, Highbury Hill, N.  
**Recreative Evening Schools Assn.**, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.  
**Stage Society** (Incorporated), 9, Arundel Street, W.C.

### RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR.

**Brotherhood Church** (Christian Socialist), Arthur Baker, M.A., Southgate Rd., N.  
**Christian Social Brotherhood**, W. Reason, M.A., sec., "Guyhirne," Macdonald Road, New Southgate, N.  
**Christian Social Union**, Rev. P. Dearmer, 102, Adelaide Road, N.W.  
**Christian Social Service Union**, Rev. J. L. Brooks, Training Colony, Lingfield  
**Evangelical Free Churches**, National Council, Memorial Hall, Farringdon St., E.C.  
**Free Church Council**, Rev. T. Law, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.  
**Guild of St. Matthew**, Rev. Conrad Noel, Paycocks, Coggleshall, Essex.  
**Labour Church Union**, J. H. Mitchell, sec., 13, Moorwell Place, Eccleshell, Bradford.  
**Liberation Soc. for Disestab. of Church of Eng.**, 2, Serjeant's Inn, Fleet St., E.C.  
**London Spiritualist Alliance**, 110, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.  
**National Secular Society**, Miss E. M. Vance, 2, Newcastle St., Farringdon St., E.C.  
**Socialist Sunday Schools Union**, Alfred Russell, 366, New City Road, Glasgow.  
**Tolstoy Settlement**, Miss Honor Morten, Oakdene, Rotherfield, Sussex.  
**Union of Ethical Societies**, 19, Buckingham St., W.C.

## SETTLEMENTS.

**London.**—Bermondsey Sett., Farncombe St., S.E. Warden : J. Scott Lidgett, M.A.

Ditto, Wom. Sett., 149, Lower Rd., Rotherhithe, S.E. Head : Miss Simmons.

Browning Hall, York St., Walworth, S.E. Warden : Herbert Stead, M.A.

Cambridge House, Camberwell Rd., S.E. Head : W. J. Conybeare, M.A.

Canning Town Women's Sett., Barking Rd., E. Head : Miss Cheetham.

Chalfont House, 20, Queen Sq., W.C.

Deptford Fund, 24, Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W. Secretary : Mrs. Lamert.

Felstead School Mission, Custom House, E. Head : Rev. T. H. Gilbert, M.A.

Gonville and Caius College Sett., Harroway Rd. Head : Rev. A. Shillito, B.A.

Lady Margaret Hall Sett., 129, Kennington Rd., S.E. Head : Miss Pearson.

Mansfield House, Canning Town, E. Warden : H. Cubbon, M.A.

Maurice Hostel, 64-66, Britannia St., City Rd. (Men only). Head : Rev.

R. R. Hyde.

Maurice Hostel, Wom. House, 51-52, Herbert St., N. Head : Miss F. Eves.

Morley College, 131, Waterloo Road, S.E. Head : E. J. Urwick.

N. Lond. Ladies' Sett., York House, 37, Hartham Rd., Holloway, N.

Head : Miss Shelford.

Oxford House, Snape St., Bethnal Grn., E. Head : Rev. H. S. Woolcombe.

Passmore Edwards Sett., Tavistock Pl. Warden : G. E. Gladstone, M.A.

Presbytrn. Wom. Sett., 56, E. India D'ck Rd., E. Head : Mrs. Alex. Matheson.

St. Helen's House, The Grove, Stratford, E. Head : Miss St. Hill.

St. Hilda's East, Cheltnm. Coll. Sett., Old Nicholl St., Bethnal Green, E.

Head : Miss Bruce.

St. Margaret's House (Branch of Oxford House), 21, Old Ford Rd., Bethnal

Green, E. Head : Miss Harington.

St. Mildred's House, Millwall, Isle of Dogs, E. Head : Miss Wintour.

St. Pancras Ethical Society, 19, Dartmouth Park Hill, N.W. Secs. : F. B.

Kirkman and E. A. Smith.

Talbot House Wom. Sett., 48, Addington Sq., Camberwell. Head : Miss

Harmer.

Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial St., E. Warden : Canon Barnett, M.A.

Wom. Workers' Coll. (Grey Ladies), Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, S.E.

Head : Miss Wordsworth.

Wom. Univ. Sett., 45, Nelson Sq., Blackfriars Rd. Head : Miss H. Gladstone.

Working Wom. Coll., Fitzroy Sq., W.

**Birmingham.**—Women's Sett., 318, Summer Lane. Warden : Miss Albright.

**Bristol.**—Broad Plain House, St. Phillip's. Warden : F. N. Colborne.

**Cardiff.**—Univ. Sett., E. Moor. Hon. sec. : Miss Lillian Howell, Grove House,

Richmond Crescent.

**Chesterfield.**—The Sett., Church Lane. Head : Miss Markham.

**Darlington.**—The Ladies' Settlement.

**Edinburgh.**—Univ. Sett. Assoc., Surgeon Sq. Warden : Rev. C. W. G. Taylor.

Univ. Hall. Senior resident : Prof. Pat. Geddes.

Town and Gown Association, 21, Rutland St.

**Glasgow.**—Toynbee House, Cathedral Court, Rotten Row. Hon. sec. : H. D. Jackson.

Univ. Students' Sett., 10, Possil Rd. Warden : Jas. Cunison, M.A.

Broomielaw Free Church Coll. Mission, 52, Carrick St., Anderston, Warden :

Rev. J. Law, M.A.

Queen Margaret Sett., 75, Elliot St., Anderston. Head : Miss Marion Rutherford.

- Ipswich.**—Social Sett., 133-35, Fore St. Managing Sec. : W. Edmund Calver.  
**Liverpool.**—Victoria Wom. Sett., 294, Netherfield Rd., N. Warden : Miss Macadam.  
**Manchester.**—Lancs. Coll. Sett., Embden Street, Hulme. Warden : Rev. T. T. James.  
 Ditto (Women's). Head : Miss B. Pochin.  
 Art Museum and Univ. Sett., 200, Every St., Ancoats. Warden : T. R. Marr.  
 Ditto (Women's), Head : Miss Alice Crompton, M.A.  
 Church House, 291, Gt. Ancoats St., Manchester.  
 Ladies' Church House, 117, Rusholme Road. Head : Miss Annie Wright.  
**Niddesbrough.**—Congregational Women's Sett. Resdnt. Supdt. : Miss Harris.  
**Stoke-on-Trent.**—Women's Sett., Fenton House. Head : Miss Garnett.

### SOCIAL BETTERMENT.

- Charity Organisation Society**, Dennison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd.  
**Church Army**, 130, Edgware Road, N.W.  
**Committee on Wage Earning Children**, 60, Bedford Gdns., Kensington, W.  
**Consumption, National Assn. for Prevention of**, 20, Hanover Sq., W.  
**Day Nurseries for Children of Working Mothers**, Marion Blake, secy., 376, Strand, W.C.  
**Last End Emigration Fund**, 34, Newark Street, Stepney.  
**Edinburgh University Settlements Assoc.**, Rev. C. M. G. Taylor, M.A., warden Surgeon Sq., Edinburgh.  
**Immigrants' Information Office**, 31, Broadway, S.W.  
**Kindly Societies.** Apply F.S. Registry, 28, Abingdon Street, S.W.  
**Friends Social Union**, P. Alden, organising sec., 1, Woburn Square, W.C.  
**Loward Assn. (Methods of Criminal Treatment and Crime Prevention)**, T. Holmes, sec., 43, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate Without, E.C.  
**Non-Religious Reformation Assoc.**, A. J. S. Maddison, 32, Charing Cross Rd., S.W.  
**Non-Religious Society for the Study of**, Dr. T. N. Kelynack, 120, Harley Street, W.  
**Rural Peasantry Society**, 61, Stamford Street, Blackfriars, S.E.  
**National Health Society**, Miss Lankester, 53, Berners Street, W.  
**Old-Age Pensions Nat. Comtee.**, F. Rogers, Browning Hall, Walworth, S.E.  
**Public Health, Royal Institute of**, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.  
**Reformatory and Refuge Union**, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.  
**Salvation Army**, Head-quarters, Queen Victoria St., E.C.  
**Social Service, British Institute of**, 11, Southampton Row, W.C.  
**Society for Improving Condition of Labouring Classes**, 4, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.  
**Society for Reform of School Discipline**, L. W. Williams, 3, Park Terrace, Crosshill, Glasgow.  
**Sociological Society**, 24, Buckingham St., W.C.  
**Voluntary Early Closing Association**, 64, Cheapside, E.C.  
**Workmen's Trains, National Society for Extension of**, Ald. G. Dew, L.C.C., 264, Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, S.E.



**SOCIALIST.**

**Christian Social Union**, Rev. P. Dearmer, 102, Adelaide Rd., N.W.  
**Fabian Society**, E. R. Pease, sec., 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.  
**Guild of St. Matthew**, Conrad Noel, hon. sec., 376, Strand, W.C.  
**Independent Labour Party**, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.  
**Kelmscott Club**, 106, Shepherd's Bush Rd., Hammersmith.  
**London Free Church Social Union**, Rev. Will Reason, "Guyhirne," Macdonald Road, New Southgate, N.  
**Metropolitan Council, I.L.P.**, W. Sanders, 18, Brynmaer Road, Battersea.  
**Labour Church Union**, J. H. Mitchell, 13, Moorwell Place, Eccleshill, Bradford.  
**Poplar Labour League**, 121, East India Dock Road, E.  
**Social Democratic Fed.**, H. W. Lee, sec., 21a, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, W.C.  
**Socialist Labour Party**, Nat. sec., N. Maclean, 63, Adelphi St., S.S., Glasgow.  
**Socialist Party of Great Britain**, C. Lehane, sec., Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, W.  
**Socialist Sunday Schools Union**, Alfred Russell, 366, New City Rd., Glasgow.

**TEMPERANCE.**

**Barmalds' Committee**, South Villa, Campden Hill Road, W.  
**British Women's Temperance Assn.**, 47, Victoria Street, S.W.  
**Central Public-house Trust Assoc.**, Hugh A. Paget, sec., 15, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.  
**Church of England Temperance Soc.**, 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.  
**Irish Temperance League**, 18, Lombard St., Belfast; 12, Marlborough St., Cork.  
**Licensing Law Reform League**, Hippley Cox, 10, Adelphi Ter., W.C.  
**National Temperance League**, J. T. Rae, sec., 34, Paternoster Row, E.C.  
**North of Eng. Temp. League**, Temperance Institute, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
**People's Refreshment House Assn., Ltd.**, R. Cripps, Broadway Chambers, S.W.  
**Scottish Alliance for Temp. and Soc. Reform**, 136, Wellington St., Glasgow.  
**Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Assn.**, 112, Bath Street, Glasgow.  
**Scottish Temperance League**, W. Johnson, 108, Hope Street, Glasgow.  
**Scottish Temperance Legislation Board**, Ninian Hill, 1, Ramsey Lane, Edinburgh.  
**Scottish Threefold Option Alliance**, 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow.  
**Temperance Legislation League**, A. F. Harvey, sec., Parliament Mansions, Victoria St., S.W.  
**United Kingdom Alliance**, W. Williams, 16, Deansgate, Manchester.  
**United Kingdom Band of Hope Union**, Chas. Wakely, 60, Old Bailey, E.C.  
**United Temperance Council**, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.  
**Watch Comtee. for Public Control of Liquor Traffic**, A. Sherwell, 38, St. Mary's, York.  
**Women's Total Abstinence Union**, Miss Boyd, 4, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

**TRADE UNION AND TRADES COUNCILS CENTRAL ORGANISATIONS.**

**Federated T. & L.C. of Cheshire**, W. Carr, 7, Deva Terrace, Chester.  
**Fed. of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades of the United Kingdom**, W. Mosses, 2, Reginald Place, Leeds.  
**General Fed. of Trade Unions**, I. Mitchell, Temple Chambers, Temple Ave., E.C.  
**Lancashire Fed. of T. & L.C.**, G. D. Kelley, J.P., 63, Upper Brook St., Manchester.

- Midland Counties' Trades Fed.**, J. Taylor, J.P., 63, Vicar St., Dudley.  
**Miners' Fed. of Grt. Brit.**, T. Ashton, 925, Ashton Old Rd., Fairfield, Manchester.  
**National Fed. of T. & L.C.**, J. Curle, J.P., 17, Oxford St., Totterdown, Bristol.  
**North-eastern Fed. of T. & L.C.**, J. Merryweather, 46, Buchanan St., Stockton.  
**Irish Trade Union Congress**, sec. Parly. Comtee, E. L. Richardson, 7, Melrose Avenue, Fairview, Dublin.  
**Scottish Trade Unions Congress**, sec. Parly. Comtee, Geo. Carson, 256, Cumberland St., Glasgow.  
**Trade Union Congress** (England and Wales), sec. Parly. Committee., W. C. Steadman, M.P., Effingham House, Arundel St., Strand, W.C.  
**South and East of England Fed. of T. & L.C.**, A. Field, 12, Ampton St., Maidstone.  
**U.K. Printing and Kindred Trades Fed.**, G. D. Kelley, M.P., 63, Upper Brook St., Manchester.  
**United Textile Factory Workers' Assn.**, J. Cross, Weavers' Office, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn.  
**Women's T.U. Fed. Coun.**, Miss M. H. Irwin, 58, Renfield St., Glasgow.  
**Yorkshire Federated T. & L.C.**, W. H. Leach, 34, Rydole Ter., Holbut, Yorks.

### WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

- British Women's Temperance Assn.**, 47, Victoria Street, S.W.  
**Central Society for Women's Suffrage**, Miss E. Palliser, sec., 25, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Clubs Industrial Association**, Miss L. Montagu, 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.  
**Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage**, Miss Jessie C. Methven, 25, Gt. King Street, Edinburgh.  
**Factory Helpers' Union**, 26, George Street, Hanover Square, W.  
**Industrial Law Committee**, hon. sec., Miss Tuckwell, sec. Miss E. Maynard, York Mansions, York St., S.W.  
**International Council of Women's Associations for Progress and Social Improvement** (non-political), Lady Aberdeen, pres., 58, Grosvenor St., W.  
**International Council of Women**. President, Lady Aberdeen; hon. corres. sec., Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Aberdeen, N.B.  
**Jewish Girls' Club and Institute**, 8, Dean St., Soho, W.C.  
**Metropolitan Assn. of Women in Council**, Miss Otter, hon. sec., 2, Hyde Park Mansions, W.  
**National Union for the Technical Education of Women in Domestic Sciences**, Mrs. R. W. Eddison, The Manor, Adel, Leeds.  
**National Union of Women Workers of G. B. and I.**, Miss Janes, organising sec., 9, Southampton Street, High Holborn; President, Miss Clifford.  
**Scottish Council for Women's Trades**, Miss M. H. Irwin, 58, Renfield Str., Glasgow.  
**Stansfeld Trust**, Miss Harvey, hon. sec., 16, Mary's Hill Rd., Shortlands, Kent.  
**Women's Industrial Council**, Miss Papworth, sec., 7, John St., Adelphi, W.C.  
**Women's Liberal Federation**, Mrs. Broadly Reid, hon. sec., 124, Victoria St., S.W.  
**Women's Local Gov. Soc.**, Miss Berry, sec., 17, Tothill St., Westminster, S.W.  
**Women's National Liberal Assn.**, Miss Page, sec., 138, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.  
**Women's Settlements**, *see* pages 218-219.  
**Women's Social and Political Union**, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.  
**Women's T.U. Leag.**, Miss M. McArthur, Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Rd., E.C.  
**World's Women's Christian Temperance Union**, Miss A. E. Slack, hon. sec., Greenhill House, Ripley, Derbyshire.  
**Young Women's Christian Assn.**, 25-26, George St., Hanover Square, W.

# PRESS DIRECTORY.

## HINTS FOR CIRCULARISING THE PRESS.

As one main object of the *Reformer's Year Book* is to supply a handy list of addresses, this year the Editors have thought it advisable to extend the Press Directory, so that it will furnish reformers intending to circularise the papers with as complete a list as possible.

Those desirous of having their communications inserted in the most prominent way in the daily papers, whether they be letters, statements, reports of meetings, programme for the future, books or pamphlets for review, should bear in mind the following points :—

(1) **Be as Prompt as Possible.**—A report of a meeting held on a Tuesday night is "news" for the Wednesday papers, it may possibly be inserted on Thursday, it is certain to be excluded if it only arrives at the office in time for Friday's issue. Again, advance proofs of an article not yet published are likely to be noticed where subsequent attention would not be given.

(2) **Be as Brief as Possible.**—Editors are always in a hurry, and will leave out a long-winded report rather than take the trouble to cut it down themselves.

(3) **Write Clearly.**—One side of the paper only, and typewritten "copy" usually preferred.

(4) **Reach all Papers Simultaneously.**—Remember that "copy" which has once appeared in one paper is "stale" to all the rest. So that if you wish to get noticed by several papers at once your copy should be in their hands simultaneously. If morning papers, then letters, programmes, advance proofs, &c., should be dispatched to reach sometime between first post and 5 or 6 p.m. (the earlier the better) for insertion in the following day, newsagencies about 2 p.m. or 3 p.m. If "news" or reports of meetings, the Press and the agencies will take it up to 9 p.m., or even 10 p.m., or later if valuable and important.

(5) **Morning or Evening?**—In dealing with the evening papers remember that no lengthy communication will find favour, while a résumé will often find its way into the paper. "Copy" should reach the offices overnight or by first post. No morning paper cares to publish any report which has had the run of the evening journals the day before, and care should be taken to follow the styles of the papers as closely as possible. In point of value the morning papers are the best vehicles of publicity; if a circular is given much prominence it may be useful to add some additional fact to it of interest which would catch the eye of the evening paper sub-editor, as fresh matter is always preferred to that which has already appeared.

Circularisers must always be prepared to take their chance, remembering also that four times more "copy" reaches a newspaper office than is ever required.

The following is a list of agencies which supply the London and provincial and foreign papers, and which should all be circularised when wide publicity is desired :—

### NEWS' AGENCIES.

Reuter's (foreign), Old Jewry, E.C.  
 Press Association, New Bridge Street, E.C.  
 London News Agency, Fleet Street, E.C.  
 Exchange Telegraph Agency, Haymarket, W.  
 Daiziel's (home and foreign), 15, Moorgate Street, E.C.  
 Central News, New Bridge Street, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

In addition to circularising the agencies it is desirable to send additional copies direct to some or all of the following :—

### LONDON MORNING PAPERS.

**Daily Chronicle** (Lib.), Whitefriars Street, E.C.  
**Daily Express** (Tariff Reform), 8, Shoe Lane, E.C.  
**Daily Graphic**, Milford Lane, W.C.  
**Daily Mail** (Cons.), Carmelite House, Carmelite Street, E.C.  
**Daily Mirror** (Cons.), 12, Whitefriars Street, E.C.  
**Daily News** (Lib.), Bouverie Street, E.C.  
**Daily Telegraph** (Cons.), 141, Fleet Street, E.C.  
**Morning Advertiser** (Cons.), 127, Fleet Street, E.C.  
**Morning Leader** (Lib.), Stonecutter Street, E.C.  
**Morning Post** (Cons.), Wellington Street, Strand, W.C.  
**Standard** (Tariff Reform), 104, Shoe Lane, E.C.  
**Times** (Cons.), Printing House Square, E.C.  
**Tribune** (Lib.), Bouverie Street, E.C.

### LONDON EVENING PAPERS.

**Globe** (Cons.), 367, Strand, W.C.  
**Evening News**, Carmelite Street, E.C.  
**Evening Standard and St. James' Gazette** (Cons.), Shoe Lane, E.C.  
**Pall Mall Gazette** (Cons.), Newton Street, Holborn, W.C.  
**Star** (Radical), Stonecutter Street, E.C.  
**Westminster Gazette** (Lib.), Tudor Street, E.C.

### LONDON WEEKLY (SUNDAY) PAPERS.

**Lloyd's Weekly**, 12, Salisbury Square, E.C.  
**News of the World**, 30, Bouverie Street, E.C.  
**Observer**, Aldwych, Strand, W.C.  
**Referee**, Victoria House, Tudor Street, E.C.  
**Reynolds Newspaper**, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.  
**Sunday Chronicle**, Withy Grove, Manchester.  
**Sunday Sun**, 16, Sergeant's Inn, Fleet Street, E.C.  
**Sunday Times**, 7, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.  
**The People**, Milford Lane, Strand W.C.  
**Weekly Dispatch**, Carmelite Street, E.C.  
**Weekly Times and Echo**, Clement's House, Clement's Inn Passage, W.C.

### PROVINCIAL PAPERS.

**Aberdeen Journal**, Broad Street, Aberdeen.  
**Birmingham Daily Post**, 38, New Street, Birmingham.  
**Birmingham Daily Mail**, 13, Corporation Street, Birmingham.  
**Bradford Daily Telegraph**, 53, Market Street, Bradford.  
**Bristol Times and Mirror**, Bristol.  
**Bristol Mercury**, 35, Broad Street, Bristol.  
**Cheshire Daily Echo**, King Street East, Stockport.  
**Derby Daily Telegraph**, 39, Corn Market, Derby.  
**Dundee Advertiser**, 7, Bank Street, Dundee.  
**Eastern Morning News**, 42, Whitefriars Gate, Hull.  
**Exeter Daily Gazette**, Exeter.  
**Glasgow Herald**, 65-69, Buchanan Street, Glasgow.  
**Huddersfield Examiner**, Ramsden Street, Huddersfield.  
**Leeds Mercury**, Albion Street, Leeds.  
**Leicester Daily Mercury**, 25-29, Albion Street, Leicester.  
**Liverpool Mercury and Post**, 46-50, Victoria Street, Liverpool.  
**Manchester Daily Chronicle**, 12, Brazennose Street, Manchester.  
**Manchester Daily Dispatch**, Withy Grove, Manchester.

**Manchester Evening News**, 3, Cross Street, Manchester.  
**Manchester Guardian**, 3, Cross Street, Manchester.  
**Newcastle Daily Chronicle**, Westgate Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
**Northern Daily Telegraph**, Railway Way, Blackburn.  
**Northern Echo**, Darlington.  
**Nottingham Daily Express**, Parliament Street, Nottingham.  
**Northampton Daily Reporter**, The Parade, Northampton.  
**Nottingham Daily Guardian**, Nottingham.  
**Oldham Chronicle**, Union Street, Oldham.  
**Sheffield Daily Telegraph**, Aldine Court, High Street, Sheffield.  
**Sheffield Independent**, 21, Fairgate, Sheffield.  
**South Wales Daily News**, 105, St. Mary Street, Cardiff.  
**The Scotsman**, 30, Cockburn Street, Edinburgh.  
**The Southern Mail**, Portsmouth.  
**The Western Mail**, Cardiff.  
**Yorkshire Daily Herald**, 9, Conev Street, York.  
**Yorkshire Observer**, 10, Piccadilly, Bradford.  
**Yorkshire Post**, Albion Street, Leeds.  
**Western Daily Mercury**, 9, Frankfort Street, Plymouth.  
**Western Morning News**, Plymouth.

## LABOUR AND REFORM PRESS.

IN spite of important progress in other fields Labour has as yet no national official journal. Nor has any section of the Labour or Socialist parties or the Co-operative bodies ventured upon the daily issue. The only attempt to run a pseudo-Labour daily was the case of the *Majority* which ran for five days commencing July 10th. The paper was entirely capitalistic, and was disavowed from the start by all responsible Labour leaders. It had very little matter to commend it, and its circulation after the first number must have been almost nil.

An important new paper, the organ of the Scottish Socialists, has been started in Glasgow, and is known as the *Forward*, price 1d.; it is published weekly on Saturdays, and seems likely to attain considerable popularity.

There should also be mentioned: *The Leader* (Dublin), referred to more fully on p. 115; *The New Ireland Review*, monthly, 6d.; and *The Irish Peasant*, 1d. weekly; also *The Herald of the Golden Age*, 3d. quarterly.

Other changes have been the increase in the size of the *Labour Leader* and the *Clarion*, and the change of title of the *Racebuilder* to the *New International Review*.

Editors and Publishers are requested to forward copies of their publications regularly to *The Reformers' Year Book*, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C., for notice in this section.

## NATIONAL LABOUR & SOCIALIST ORGANS.

**Clarion**, w., 1d., lit. Socialist review, R. Blatchford, ed., 44, Worship St., E.C.  
**Commonwealth**, Christian Soc. Un., 3, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.  
**Fabian News**, m., 1d., Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, W.C.  
**Justice**, w., 1d., S.D.F. H. Quelch, ed., 37a, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.  
**Labour Leader**, w., 1d., organ of I.L.P., Whitworth Street West, M'chester.  
**Labour Record and Review**, m., 1d., ed., F. W. Pethick Lawrence, *Reformers' Year Book* Office, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.  
**Social Democrat**, m., 6d., XXth Century Press, 37a, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.  
**Socialist**, m., 1d., Socialist Lab. Party, 6, Drummond Street, Edinburgh.  
**Socialist Standard**, m., 1d., Socialist Party of Gt. B., 1a, Caledonian Rd., N.

**LOCAL LABOUR PAPERS.**

Barrow Pioneer, L.R.C., m., free, Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness.  
 Blackburn Labour Journal, m., Luke Bates, 56, Peter Street, Blackburn.  
 Croydon Citizen, w., 3d. H. T. Muggieridge, ed., 18a, Catherine St., Croydon.  
 East Birmingham Forward, m., 3d., 54, Clodeshall Rd., Alum Rock, Saltney.  
 Forward, I.L.P., w., A. T. Sutton, Labour Inst., Peckover St., Bradford.  
 Forward, w., Ayr Street, Springburn, Glasgow.  
 Labour Advertises, m., 9, Oswald View, Gelderd Road, Leeds.  
 Labour Herald, m., free, 47, Ellison Street, Jarrow-on-Tyne.  
 Labour Journal, m., organ of Hull T.C., F. W. Booth, 72, Lambert St., Hull.  
 Newcastle Elector, and L.R.C. Herald, m., fr., Hildreth, 4, Higham Pl., N.-on-T.  
 Northampton Pioneer, S.D.F., m., Scott, 79, Abingdon Av., Northampton.  
 Paisley Observer, 12, High Street, Paisley.  
 Pioneer, w., 8pp. organ of Leicester L.R.C., 28, Dover Street, Leicester.  
 Rawtenstall Socialist, m., 4pp., gratis, 11, Kay Street, Rawtenstall.  
 Sheffield Guardian, Isaac's Bldgs., Upper Charles Street, Sheffield.  
 Socialist and Labour Jour., m., 3d. Grayson, 179, Thornby Road, Bootle.  
 Woolwich Pioneer and Labour Journal, w., 3, New Road, Woolwich.  
 York Labour News, L.R.C., gratis, G. H. Stuart, ed., 8, New Street, York.  
 Young Socialist, m., 3d., J. Searson, ed., 249, Main St., Bridgton, Glasgow.

**TRADE UNION PAPERS.**

Amalgamated Engineers' Journal, m., 1d., A.S.E., 110, Peckham Road, S.E.  
 Amalgamated Toolmakers, m. rev't, W. F. Beston, 38, John Bright St., Birm.  
 Clothiers Operatives, Amal. U. Gazette, m., 32, Cobden Place, Leeds.  
 Cotton Factory Times, w., 1d., 1, Warren St., Cross St., Manchester.  
 Customs Journal, f., 1d. c/o J. Imrie, 2, The Limes, Ella St., Newland Av., Hull.  
 Eltradion, m., Electrical T.U., Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Road, E.C.  
 Govt. Workers' Advocate, m., 3d., J. G. King, 55, Doughty Street, W.C.  
 Grocers' Assistant, m., 1d., J. Aubrey Rees, ed., 49, Eastcheap, E.C.  
 Masons' and Granite-cutters' Journal, m., 8pp., 47, Belmont St., Aberdeen.  
 Musicians' Report and Journal, m., Williams, 135, Moss Lane E., Manchester.  
 Post, f., Fawcett, Assoc., C. G. Ammon, ed., 55, Doughty Street, W.C.  
 Postal Clerks' Herald, m., 195, New Hampton Rd. W., Wolverhampton.  
 Postman's Gazette, f., J. C. Brown, ed., 125, Howard Street, Glasgow.  
 Railway Clerk, m., W. J. West, ed., 112, Lavender Hill, S.W.  
 Railway Review, w., 16pp., A.S.R.S., G. J. Wardle, 251, Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.  
 Settmakers' Journal, m., 2d., Adam, 424, Gt. N. Rd., Woodside, Aberdeen.  
 Scottish Typographical Circular, m., ed., 6, Keith Ter., Blackhall, M'lothian.  
 Shop Assistant, w., 1d., T. Spencer Jones, ed., 186, Fleet Street, E.C.  
 Sub-Postmaster, m., 2d., High Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.  
 Trades and Lab. Gaz., m., J. Macdonald, ed., London T.C., 41, Cowcross St., E.C.  
 Typographical Circular, m., Typo. Assoc., 312, Deansgate, Manchester.  
 Scottish Typographical Journal, 6, Keith Terrace, Blackhall, Midlothian.  
 Telegraph Chron., and C. S. Recorder f., 2d., 25, Pearl Assur. Bldgs., Liverpool.  
 Tramway & Vehicle Worker, w., Osborne, 95, Cooper St., Belgrave Rd., Leices.

**ARBITRATION AND PEACE.**

Concord, m., 1d., Internat. Arb. and Peace Asso., 40, Outer Temple, W.C.  
 Herald of Peace, m., 1d., Peace Society, 47, New Broad Street, E.C.  
 Olive Leaf, m., 3d., Peace Society, 47, New Broad Street, E.C.  
 War or Brotherhood, m., 1d., 14, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C.

**CO-OPERATIVE.**

Associate, q., Brotherhood Assoc., 37, Newington Green Road, N.  
 Comradeship, m., Royal Arsenal Co-op. Societies, Parson's Hill, Woolwich.  
 Co-operative News, w., organ of Co-op. Societies, Long Millgate, Manchester.  
 Co-partnership Journal, of S, Metropolitan Gas Co., m., 709, O. Kent Rd., S.E.

**Labour Co-partnership**, m., Lab. Co-part. Assoc., 22, Red Lion Sq., W.C.  
**Millgate Monthly**, m., 3d., Co-op. News, Manchester.  
**Scottish Co-operator**, w., 8, Coburg Street, Glasgow.  
**Wheatsheaf**, m., Co-op. Wholesale Soc., Balloon Street, Manchester.

### ECONOMIC AND FISCAL.

**Economic Review**, q., 3s., Oxford Univ. C.S.U., Bivingtons.  
**Investors' Review**, w., 6d., Norfolk House, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

### FOOD REFORM.

**Herald of the Cross** m., 2d., R. H. Perks, M.D., Sec., Paignton, Devon.  
**Herald of Health**, m., 2d., Mrs. Leigh Hunt Wallace, 3, Vernon Place, W.C.  
**Herald of the Golden Age**, q., 3d., S. H. Beard, Paignton, Devon.  
**Scottish Health Reformer**, m., ed. by Rev. C. A. Hall, Meikleriggs, Paisley.  
**Vegetarian**, m., 28pp., 34, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.  
**Vegetarian Messenger**, m., 257, Deansgate, Manchester.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

**Anglo-Russian**, m., 1d., J. Prelooker, ed., 21, Paternoster Square, E.C.  
**Free Russia** (occasional), 40, Outer Temple, W.C.

### HUMANITARIAN.

**Abolitionist**, Anti-vivisection, m., 2d., 32, Charing Cross, S.W.  
**Child's Guardian**, m., organ of N.S.P.C.C., Rev. B. Wauchope, Leicester Sq., W.C.  
**Humanitarian**, m., 1d., Humanitarian League, 53, Chancery Lane, W.C.  
**Humane Review**, q., 1s., E. Bell, York House, Portugal Street, W.C.  
**Our Animal Brothers**, m., ed., Edith Carrington, 3, Paternoster Bldgs., E.C.  
**Tuberculosis**, q., 6d., Nat. Assoc. for Prev. Consum., 20, Hanover Sq., W.  
**Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review**, m., 50, Parliament Street, S.W.  
**Zoophilist and Animals Defender**, m., 3d., Dr. E. Berdoe, 92 Victoria St., S.W.

### IMPERIAL QUESTIONS.

**Aborigines' Friend**, m., 3d., H. B. Fox-Bourne, Broadway Chbrs., Westm'r S.W.  
**Imperial Colonist**, m., 2d., Brit. Women's Emig. Assoc., Imperial Inst., S.W.  
**India**, w., 2d., Ind. Nat. Cong., 85, Palace Chambers, S.W.

### LAND AND HOUSING.

**Garden City**, organ of G.C. Assoc., G.C. Press, Letchworth.  
**Housing Journal**, m., Fred Knee, ed., 120, Sugden Road, Clapham Com., S.W.  
**Land and Labour**, m., 1d., Land Nat. Assoc., 432, West Strand, W.C.  
**Land Values**, org. of League, 13, Dundas St., Glasgow, and 376, Strand, W.C.

### LIBERAL, RADICAL, &c.

**Beacon**, m., 1d., E. L. Gales, ed., 14, Pierrepont Street, Bath.  
**Coming Day**, m., 3d., ed., J. Page Hopps, Shepperton-on-Thames.  
**Contemporary Review**, m., 2s. 6d., Horace Marshall, Fleet Street, E.C.  
**Independent Review**, m., 2s. 6d., Fisher Unwin, 1, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.  
**Liberal Magazine**, m., 6d., Lib. Pub. Dept., 42, Parliament St., S.W.  
**Liberal Monthly**, 12pp., illus., first issue Oct., 1906, 42, Parliament St., S.W.  
**New Age**, w., 1d., ed. Jos. Clayton, 1, Took's Court, E.C.  
**Review of Reviews**, m., 6d., W. T. Stead, Mowbray Ho., Norfolk St., W.C.  
**Speaker**, w., 6d., F. W. Hirst, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Brotherhood**, q., 3d., J. Bruce Wallace, ed., Garden City, Herts.  
**Burial Reformer**, q., 3d., A. Hallam, ed., 12, London Street, E.C.  
**Club and Institute Journal**, m., 3d., Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Rd., E.C.  
**Esperantist**, m., 4d., H. B. Mudie, 67, Kensington Gardens Square, W.  
**Ethics**, w., 1d., ed., Dr. Stanton Coit, 17, Johnson's Court, E.C.  
**Freedom**, m., 1d., Anarchist Communism, 127, Ossulton Street, N.W.  
**Individualist**, m., 1d., Personal Rights, J. H. Levy, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.  
**Light of Reason**, m., 3d., J. Allen, ed., Ilfracombe,

**Malthusian**, m., 1d., 1 and 2, Took's Court, Chancery Lane, E.C.  
**Municipal Journal**, w., 2d., Lloyd, 12, Salisbury Square, E.C.  
**New International Review** (late *Race Builder*), m., 2d., F. Cutcliffe, ed., Ifley Road, Oxford.  
**Optimist**, q., Sociology and Theology, 72pp., 6d., first issue Jan. 1906, Rev. S. Proudfoot, ed., Halton, Lancaster.  
**Progress**, q., 88pp., 1s. net, illus., organ of Brit. Inst. of Social Service, 11, Southampton Row, W.C.  
**Saint George**, q., St. George's Press, Bourneville, and G. Allen, London.  
**Voice of Labour**, Anarchist, w., 8pp., first issue Nov. 3rd, 1906, 127, Ossulston Street, N.W.

### OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

**Board of Trade Journal**, w., 1d., Wyman, Fetter Lane, E.C.  
**Labour Gazette**, Board of Trade, m., 1d., Wyman, Fetter Lane, E.C.  
**L.C.C. Gazette**, w., 1d., P. S. King & Son, Gt. Smith Street, S.W.

### SECULARIST.

**Freethinker**, w., 2d., G. W. Foote, ed., 2, Newcastle Street, E.C.  
**Literary Guide**, and **Rationalist Review**, m., 2d., Watts, 19, Johnson's Ct., E.C.  
**Truth Seeker**, m., 1d., J. W. Gott, ed., 2, Union Street, Bradford.

### SOCIAL BETTERMENT.

**Associate**, q., Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, W.C.  
**Cambridge House Mag.**, 9., 6d., Rev. W. J. Conybeare, 131, Camberwell Rd., S.E.  
**Charity Organisation Review**, m., 6d., C. S. Loch, ed., 296, Vauxhall B'dge Rd.  
**Mansfield House Mag.**, m., 2d., Barking Road, Canning Town, E.  
**Message**, m., J. Warschauer, ed., 203, Anerley Road, S.E.  
**Social Gazette**, w., 3d., Salvation Army, 79, Fortress Road, N.W.  
**Social Service**, m., 3d., C.U. for S.S., Training Colony, Lingfield.  
**Time and Talents News**, Miss Barton, ed., 26, George St., Hanover Sq., W.  
**Toynbee Record**, m. W. H. Beveridge, ed., 28, Commercial Street, E.C.  
**Working-men's College Jour.**, m., 2d., 46, Gt. Ormond Street, W.C.

### TEMPERANCE.

**Alliance News**, w., organ of U.K.A., 16, Deansgate, Manchester.  
**Band of Hope Review**, m., 3d., M. Jennie Street, ed., 9, Paternoster Row, E.C.  
**Everybody's Monthly** (Irish Temp. League), 18, Lombard Street, Belfast.  
**Good Templars' Watchword**, w. (I.O.G.T.), 168, Edmund St., Birmingham.  
**Prohibitionist**, m., 3d. H. Bradley, ed., 100, Lewisham High Road, S.E.  
**Rehabite Magazine**, m., 30, Shoe Lane, E.C.  
**Scottish Reformer**, w., 115, Bath Street, Glasgow.  
**Temperance Chronicle**, w. (C.E.T.S.), 4, Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.  
**Temperance Leader**, w. (Sco. Temp. Leag.), 108, Hope St., Glasgow.  
**Temperance Record**, q., 4d., James, 3 & 4, London Ho. Yd., Paternoster R., E.C.  
**Temperance Witness**, q., G. Hyler, Tem. Inst., Rutherford St., Newcastle-o-T.  
**U.T.C. Gazette**, m., Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.  
**White Ribbon**, m. (Brit. Wom. Temp.), 47, Victoria Street, S.W.  
**Wings**, m. (Wom. Total Abst. Union), 4, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

### WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WORK.

**Englishwoman's Review**, q., 1s., A. M. Mackenzie, ed., 22, Berners St., W.  
**Women's Agricultural Times**, q., 1d., Hannaford & Hodges, 57, L'gate Hl., E.C.  
**Women's Employment**, Central Bureau, 9, Southampton St., Holborn, W.C.  
**Women's Industrial News**, q., 3d. Miss Papworth, ed., 7, John St., Adelphi, W.C.  
**Women's Suffrage Record**, q., 2d., Miss Palliser, ed., 25, Victoria St., W.C.  
**Women's T.U. Review**, q., 4d., Miss Tuckwell, ed., Club Union Bldgs., E.C.

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For the best reports of the Women's Movement see the  
**"LABOUR RECORD & REVIEW,"** m., 1d., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.



# BOOKS OF THE YEAR.

## A List of Recent Publications on Social Reform Questions.

Books for notice, or items of information respecting forthcoming issues, should be sent as early as possible, fully addressed, to

**The Reformers' Year Book, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C.**

Publishers' Addresses: Advance Press and Publishing Guild, 238, Upper Richmond Road, East Sheen, Surrey; Geo. Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.; A. & C. Black, 4, Soho Square, W.; Arthur C. Fifield, 44, Fleet Street, E.C.; Free Age Press, 13, Paternoster Row, E.C.; P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, 2-4, Great Smith Street, S.W.; John Murray, 50a, Albemarle Street, W.; Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, Pall Mall; Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 25, High Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.; T. Fisher Unwin, 11, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.; Watts & Co., Rationalist Publications, 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

### Anti-Militarism.

- ARBITER IN COUNCIL. THE. Anonymous. 10s. Macmillan.  
 AFTERMATH OF WAR. Illus. 12s. 6d. net. Arnold.  
 FOR AN ARREST OF ARMAMENTS. G. H. Perris. 24pp. 2d. Internat. Peace and Arbit. Soc.  
 INTERNATIONAL LAW: II., *War*. J. Westlake. Camb. Univ. Press.  
 LABOUR AND MILITARISM. J. K. Hardie. 1d. I.L.P.  
 PLAIN WORDS ON MILITARY AND NAVAL RETRENCHMENT. F. W. Hirst. 8pp. 1d. New Reform Club.

### Biographical and Historical.

- BOOTH, GENERAL. T. F. G. Coates. 6s. Hodder.  
 BURTON, SIR RICHARD. Thomas Wright. 2 vols. Everett.  
 CADBURY, RICHARD. Helen Cadbury Alexander. Illus. 7s. 6d. net. Hodder.  
 CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH. An Honest Biography. Alex. Mackintosh. 10s. 6d. Hodder & Stoughton.  
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- SOCIALISM; ITS FALLACIES AND DANGERS. Edited by F. Millar (Liberty and Property Defence League). 6d. Watts.
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- STUDIES IN SOCIALISM. (Socialist Library, No. 3.) 1s. and 1s. 6d. net. Independent Labour Party.
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- CONDITIONS OF HOME-WORK AMONG TRADES, THE. Miss Irwin. 6d. Women's Industrial Council.
- COSMIC PROCESSION, THE. By Frances Swiney. 3s. 6d. net. Ernest Bell.
- FINGERPOST: A guide to professions for educated women. 70 articles by experts. 1s. 6d. Central Women's Employment Bureau.
- OCCUPATIONS FOR GIRLS. A guide to girls in selecting an employment. Women's Industrial Council.
- PROBLEM OF HOME WORK, THE, with Preface. Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., LL.D. 3d.
- RIGHTFUL CLAIMS OF WOMEN. T. J. Haslam. pp. 24. 1d. Women's Suffrage and L. G. Asso., 125, Leinster Road, Dublin.
- THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN. 6d. Women's Industrial Council.
- WOMEN AS BARMAIDS. The Bishop of Southwark. 1s. net. King.
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- WOMEN'S OPPORTUNITY. G. M. Tuckwell. pp. 12. 1d. W.T.U. League.
- WOMEN'S WAGES IN ENGLAND DURING THE 19TH CENTURY. Based chiefly on the researches of Mr. G. H. Woods, F.S.S. 1d. Women's Industrial Council.
- WOMEN'S WORK IN THE TAILORING AND DRESSMAKING TRADES. Ditto.
- WOMEN'S WORK IN LAUNDRIES. Ditto.
- WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES. (In Birmingham.) E. Cadbury, M. C. Mathieson, and G. Shann. 6s. Unwin.

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- BOSSISM AND MONOPOLY. (Railways in U.S.A.) K. T. C. Spelling. 7s. 6d. net. Unwin.
- THE COAL-MINE WORKERS. A study in labour organisation. F. J. Warne. 3s. 6d. Longmans.
- FROM COTTON FIELD TO COTTON MILL. A study of the industrial transition in North Carolina. 284pp. Holland Thompson. 6s. 6d. net. Macmillan.
- FRENZIED FINANCE. T. W. Lawson. 6s. Heinemann.



## SOME NOTABLE MEN.

### JAMES R. BELL.

Born at the small hamlet of Little Corby, near Carlisle, in 1854. Leaving school at a very early age, he commenced to work at a brick and tile works near his native place. He remained at this employment intermittently until he was about 16 years of age, when by a stroke of good fortune his father was able to give him an additional nine or 12 months at school, of which, owing to studious habits and to the assistance of the local schoolmaster, he was able to take very good advantage. He has been secretary of one of the largest branches of the A.S.R.S. for over 12 years, and has represented his branch at the annual congress. Has had the unique distinction of acting as general auditor for three years in succession, and has been two years E.C. representative. His election as president took place at the Congress held in October of 1906. In politics he is a member of the Independent Labour Party. Associated with Wesleyan Methodism from child-



hood, he is now a member of the church of that body, and is a teetotaler. Owing to the possession of the same initial and surname is sometimes confused with a totally different man, Richard Bell, M.P.

### T. D. BENSON, Treasurer of I.L.P.

When already a Socialist in principle, was converted to "independent" action in 1893 through reading the *Clarion*. At the end of that year a breakdown of health led to spending 18 months on his back in Switzerland, during which time he read every Socialist book he could get. On returning to England got into touch with Keir Hardie, and in 1895 became asst.-treasurer of Election Fund, and in 1900 the treasurer of Fund. In 1898 returned to Clitheroe



Guardians at head of the poll, with three other members of S.D.F. Left S.D.F. in 1901. In 1902 became I.L.P. treasurer, in which capacity he is a valuable asset to the organisation. In 1896 started *Uses*, a little Socialist organ of the New Church, and ran this until 1901, when he gave it up on going away through sickness. His life is a long struggle against ill-health, but he is a genial comrade and a devoted Socialist.

**FRANCIS CHANDLER, J.P., Gen. Sec. Amal. Soc. of Carpenters and Joiners.**

Born 1849 at Harrow. Apprenticed joiner at 14; enrolled Carp. and Joiners' Soc. in 1869; Hammersmith sec. 1872; London Dist. sec. 1876; gen. sec. of Soc. 1888. Since 1895 has been on Parl. Com. of T.U. Congress. In 1901 Fraternal Delegate to Amer. Fed. of Labour Convention. Guardian and J.P., Manchester, since 1894. In Feb., 1906, appointed a



member of Rl. Commn. on the Poor Laws. An able and devoted official.

**ALEX. GOSSIP, Gen. Sec. National Amal. Furnishing Trades Association.**

Born Sept. 11th, 1862, at Crawford Priory, Fifeshire. Apprenticed in Cupar to cabinet-making. Joined trade union in 1881; held most branch offices, then Glasgow Dist. sec. Conducted affairs during great 10-months' Scotch lock-out of 1898-9; publicly debated with chmn. Employers' Fed., resulting in three-days' confce. which ended lock-out. Subsequently elected pres.; then gen. sec. of Sco. Cabinet-makers. Actively promoted amalgamn. of Scotch and English Societies, and finally appointed gen. sec. of the amalgamation. Early member of old Scottish Labour Party, and joined I.L.P. at start. On I.L.P. Metro. Dist. Council. Active in Socialist Sunday School

work since 1896; Supt. Glasgow Central S.S. for two years; has promoted



opening of six schools in London; is Pres. of London Soc. S.S. Union, and acts as chmn. at Children's Platform in May Day demonstrn. Now Supt. of Fulham Soc. S.S., widely known and much visited; holds open-air services, with children's choir, also swimming classes, flower drill, &c.

**C. H. GRINLING, M.A., Woolwich.**

Born in London 1860. Grew up in



a Staffordshire garden and open country until 11. After three years

at a Derbyshire school won an Eton scholarship, but went instead to Forest School, Walthamstow. Took an Oxford M.A. degree, and went to live in Stepney and Whitechapel. Then three years in Nottingham. Came to Woolwich in 1889, and married in the following year. Sec. of the C.O.S., and took a strong Socialist line, amalgamating all social work. He and his wife were among those who laid the foundations of the present Labour Party in that borough. To his energy is due the starting of the Woolwich Pioneer. Borough Councillor for many years, in which capacity he has been responsible for many Socialist undertakings. Defeated Nov., 1906, but confident that check in Woolwich is only temporary.

**FRANCIS JOHNSON, Gen. Sec. I.L.P.**

Born in 1878; educated in a London Board School. Entered the second-hand book trade as shop-boy and advanced to position of manager. Joined I.L.P. after hearing Pete Curran speak at a street-corner meeting, and has held all offices in a local branch. Left the book trade to enter I.L.P. office in 1900; appointed asst.-sec. in 1903 and gen. sec. in



1904. Devoted to his work, and liked and esteemed by all his colleagues.

**GEORGE LANSBURY, Member Poor Law Commission.**

Born 1859, Haleworth, Suffolk; son of railway sub-contractor. Life spent in East London, first in coal trade, later in veneer works, where



he is now partner. For short time was hon. sec. Bow and Bromley Lib. and Rad. Assoc. In 1892 joined S.D.F., and elected Guardian at Poplar; borough councillor since 1903. Contested Walworth twice as S.D.F. candidate; also Bow and Bromley 1900, and Middlesbrough 1906. Member of Rl. Commn. on Poor Laws, also of Central Unemployed Body, and chmn. of Working Colonies Comtee. Established first public Labour Colony at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk; chmn. of comtee. which established first Poor Law Colony at Laindon, Essex; member of I.L.P. and C.S.U.; treas. Poplar Labour Representation Comtee, representing I.L.P., S.D.F., and all trade unions.

**H. W. LEE, Gen. Sec., Social Democratic Federation.**

Born in London 10th July, 1865. In Aug., 1883, attended Bradlaugh's meeting in Trafalgar Square, where S.D.F. distributed "Socialism Made Plain." Read this and shortly after

D.F. Was then engaged in n & Gatto's. Left in Aug. become asst.-sec. to S.D.F. champion, and in Nov. was 1. sec., so that he has come years of service in that is always declined to stand nicipal or parliamentary finding the work of the on absorbs all his energies and retiring, but popular in Federation, but among generally.

### J. McLAREN.

Glasgow, 1875. Elementary to 13. From 8½ to 11 a milkng 5-30; then to 13 a news-y, working seven hours in



to school. To 17, clerking molybdenum; then apprenticed son. Tried to make money mica to pay college fees, but success. Returning to trade, oney, and went in for Moral hy, Logic, Economics. For hon. pres. Scottish Stone- "Fortnightly" published le reply by him, Feb., '06, ert Vivian's vulgar attack ir Party. In March became y of Glasgow Fabians. Was several concerned in start-Glasgow "Forward," weekly of Socialism and Trade n.

**L. G. CHIOZZA MONEY, M.P.,** author of "Riches and Poverty."

Born 1870. His father, Mr. J. Chiozza, a naval and dockyard engineer, was an Anglo-Italian, and his mother an Englishwoman. The name Money comes from an aunt, daughter of Capt. Wm. Money. Has lived in London since 1 year of age. His father died when he was 12, and his mother when he was 15, so that he has worked for his living from boyhood. He is a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, and his suggestions to revise the Board of Trade Returns in 1902 were adopted and publicly acknowledged. Is well known for his Socialistic Labour column in *Daily News* and for his admirable book, "Riches and Poverty." Elected in 1906 as Liberal member for N. Paddington.

**ALFRED ONIONS, C.C., Agent,** Tredegar Miners.

Born in Shropshire Oct. 30th, 1858; son of a collier. Attended National



School. Before 11 went to work at a foundry. At 15 commenced to work underground in N. Staffs. In 1883, through N. Staffs. strike, went to Risca, Monmouth. In 1887 elected checkweighman, Abercarn Colliery. In 1888 helped form Monmouth Dist.

of South Wales Miners' Fed., and was sec. for five years. Member old Sliding Scale Joint Committee, 1891 to 1902, and of present Conciliation Board. Treasurer S.W. Strike Fund, 1898, and of S.W. Miners' Fed. Agent for Tredegar Valley since 1898. On Exec., Miners' Fed. of G.B. For nine years on Mynyddyslwyn S.B., being seven years vice-chmn.; also Bedwelty S.B. four years. First chmn. Risca U.D.C. Also on Monmouth County Council. A founder, six years ago, and now pres. of Tredegar Co-op. Soc. For 20 years a Wesleyan local preacher.

**J. J. STEPHENSON**; Chairman of the Executive of The Labour Party.

Born Belfast, 1871. Educated at an Irish National School. Apprenticed to engineering when 14. In 1892 was one of 12 men who attempted to form a Belfast Socialist Society, although stormy days in the North of Ireland capital, and an avowed Home Ruler and Socialist had no sympathy and



not much safety. In 1895 came to Barrow. In '98 appointed A.S.E. dist. sec., and since that time has been an active A.S.E. officer.

Elected to Exec. Council, London, 1903, and again, unopposed, in 1906. Attended Labour Representation Conferences 1904, 1905, and 1906, as delegate of A.S.E. Appointed treasurer of E.C., and now chairman.

**PATRICK WALLS, C.C.**, Gen. Sec., National Federation Blast-furnacemen, Ore Miners, and Kindred Trades.

Born in 1847, North of Ireland. Worked 17 years at Bell's, Middlesbrough, as blast-furnaceman. Many



years pres. Cleveland Blast-furnacemen's Assoc., and pres. Middlesbrough Tr. Council 1887. Gen. sec. of Fed. of Blast-furnacemen, Ore Miners, &c., since 1892; also pres. Cumberland County Fed. of Trades. Has been instrumental in securing 8-hours day for all blast-furnacemen in N. England and Staffs. Elected to Workington T.C. in 1893, 1896, and 1899; and ald. since 1902. For nine years on S.B.; now on Educ. Comtee. Six years a Guardian. Three times elected Cumberland C.C. In I.L.P. since formation, a thorough believer in the value of political "independence." Advocates joint trade boards and conciliation committees.

# DIRECTORY

## OF USEFUL ADDRESSES.

*Names of all M.P.'s will be found on pp. 24-48; of Political Organisations on pp. 84-87; of principal Trade Unions on 130-133; of Trades Councils 135-139; of Reform Societies 221.*

the following addresses will be found those of the most prominent in Social and Reform Movements. The greatest care has been taken in compilation to keep pace with the enormous number of changes. The attention of subscribers is especially requested to make the list absolutely

correct and additions should be addressed to "The Editor, Reformers' Year Book, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.," and should be posted before September 30, 1907, for inclusion in the 1908 issue.

### THE ABBREVIATIONS.

following tabulated list of abbreviations used in the Directory found useful:—

—Amalg. Soc. Engineers.  
—Amalg. Soc. of Raily. Servants.

borough Councillor.

Board of Guardians.

—Brit. Inst. Soc. Service.

Bachelor of Laws.

—Bolton Socialist Party.

—Board of Trade Labour Corres.

Companion of the Bath.

County Councillor.

various Fellowship.

—Companion Indian Empire.

—Comp. St. Michael and St. George.

—Church Socialist League.

—Christian Social Union.

—Co-op. Wholesale Society.

District Councillor.

—Fellow of Inst. Chartered Account.

—Fellow Royal Geographical Soc.

—Fellow Roy. Inst. Brit. Archts.

arian Society.

—Fellow Statistical Society.

—Gen. Fed. of Trade Unions.

Gaelic League.

—Guild of St. Matthew.

—Gas Workers & Gen. Labrs. Un.

Independent Labour Party.

—Irish National League.

—Indep. Order of Good Templars.

—Irish Trade Union Congress.

—Irish Wom. Tempce. Union.

Justice of the Peace.

King's Counsel.

—London County Council.

Labour Party.

—Labour Represn. Committee.

Labour Church.

—Land Nationalisation Society.

—London Reform Union.

—London Society of Compositors.

—London Trades Council.

M.A.B.—Metropolitan Asylums Board.

M.J.I.—Mem. Journalists' Union.

M.P.—Member of Parliament.

M.R.F.—Metropolitan Radical Federation.

N.A.C.—Natl. Administr. Council of I.L.P.

N.D.L.—National Democratic League.

N.E.A.—National Education Association.

N.G.W.—National Gas Workers' Union.

N.H.B.U.—Nat. Housing Reform Union.

N.R.U.—National Reform Union.

N.S.P.C.A.—Nat. Soc. Prev. Cr. to Animals.

N.S.P.C.C.—N. Soc. Preven. Cr. to Children

N.S.S.—National Secular Society.

N.U.T.—National Union of Teachers.

N.U.W.W.—Nat. Union of Women Workers.

P.C.—Parish Councillor.

R.D.C.—Rural District Councillor.

R.P.A.—Rationalist Press Association.

S.A.U.—Shop Assistants' Union.

S.B.—School Board.

S.C.W.S.—Scottish Co-op. Wholesale Soc.

S.D.F.—Social-Democratic Federation.

S.T.—Single Taxer.

S.T.L.V.—Scot. Taxn. Land Val. League.

S.T.U.C.—Scot. T.U. Congress.

S.W.C.—Scot. Workers Repr. Committee.

T.C.—Town Council or Councillor.

Tr.C.—Trades Council.

T.L.V.—Taxation of Land Val. League.

T.U.—Trade Union.

T.U.Cong.—Trade Union Congress.

U.D.C.—Urban District Councillor.

U.G.W.F.—United Govt. Workers' Fedn.

U.K.A.—United Kingdom Alliance.

W.L.A.—Women's Liberal Association.

W.L.L.—Women's Labour League.

W.N.L.A.—Women's Nat. Lib. Association.

W.S.P.U.—Women's Soc. & Pol. Union.

W.T.U.L.—Women's Trade Union League.

W.U.—Workers' Union.

W.W.T.U.—World's Women's Temp. Union

asterisk (\*) distinguishes lecturers, and a dagger (†) writers on social questions. Retararies of Reform Societies are usually ready to arrange for lectures, many of illustrated lantern lectures, on their special subjects, and would furnish all particular application. See separate Directory of Societies (page 212).

- Aberdeen, Countess of, Women's questions, Aberdeen.  
 Abraham, Wm., M.P., Brynbedw, Pentre, Rhondda, Glam.  
 \*Adams, Maurice, Farthing Down, Coulsdon, Surrey.  
 \*Adams, Mrs. Bridges, S.D.F., Ed., 48, Carlisle Mansions, Victoria St., S.W.  
 \*Adderley, Hon. Rev. J. G., C.S.U., G.S.M., Saltley Vicarage, Birmingham.  
 Adler, Rev. Hermann, D.D. (chief Rabbi), 22, Finsbury Square, E.C.  
 Adler, Miss N., Children's questions, 6, Craven Hill, W.  
 \*Aitken, George, Peace Soc., 178, Cuthbertson Street, Glasgow.  
 †Aked, Rev. C. F., Schatzalp, New Brighton, Cheshire.  
 \*Albery, A. Stuart, I.L.P., 19, Temple Street, Kennington, S.E.  
 \*Albery, Victor, Sec., Clerks' U., I.L.P., 19, Temple Street, Kennington, S.E.  
 †Alden, Percy, M.A., M.P., F.S., 1, Woburn Square, W.C.  
 †Aldridge, H. R. (Land and Housing), 18, Dulverton Road, Leicester.  
 †Aldridge, Mrs. O. M., Sec. Women Tra. Coun., 9, Albert Square, Manchester.  
 †Allen, James, Ed. *Light of Reason*, Ilfracombe.  
 †Ammon, C. G., Ed. *The Post*, 121, Alscot Road, Bermondsey, S.E.  
 \*Anderson, Martin ("Cynicus"), Balmullo, Leuchars, Fife.  
 †\*Anderson, R. Wherry, National Liberal Club, Whitehall Pl., S.W.  
 Applegarth, R., Housing Council, National Liberal Club, S.W.  
 Archer, Wm., Journalist, National Liberal Club, S.W.  
 Argyle, Jesse, *Life and Labour*, 9, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.  
 Arkell, C. E. (Outer London Enquiry), Sch. of Economics, Clare Mkt., W.C.  
 Armour, J. F., S.D.F., 9, Jamieson Street, Govanhill, Glasgow.  
 Armstrong, Miss C. Rose, 140, Adelaide Road, N.W.  
 Arnold, W., S.D.F., legal adviser *Justice*, 11, Albion Street, Hanley.  
 Ashburner, Mrs. H. B. A., Pub. Health, 3, Sedgley View, Prestwich, M'ter.  
 Ashton, Thomas, Gen. Sec. Spinners, 39, Belmont Street, Oldham.  
 Ashton, T., J.P., Gen. Sec. Miners Fed., 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.  
 Atherley-Jones, L. A., K.C., M.P., 25, Pembroke Road, Kensington, W.  
 Atkinson, Harry, C.F., 16, Robert Road, Handsworth, Birmingham.  
 Atkinson, Miss Mabel (Local Govt.), 2, Devonshire Ter., Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 Atkinson, Wm., Education, 27, Oxford Street, South Shields.  
 †Aveling, Rev. F. W., M.A., B.Sc., Christ's College, Blackheath, S.E.  
 Ayles, W. H., B.G., 184, Kenelm Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.  
 †Ayon, W. E. A., LL.D., Vegetarianism, 257, Deansgate, Manchester.  
 †Bacon, Miss N. C., Engl. Speakers Link, 350, Mans. House Chrs., E.C.  
 \*Baker, Arthur, M.A., Brotherhood Church, 60, Church Road, Islington, N.  
 Baker, J. Allen, M.P., L.C.C., Donnington, Harlesden, N.W.  
 †Baker, John and H. Jennie, I.L.P., 24, Victoria Avenue, Stockton-on-Tees.  
 \*Baldoek, Mrs. M., Org. W.S.P.U., 33, Oak Cresc., Barking Rd., E.  
 †Balgarnie, Miss F., Women's Suffrage, 51, Crouch Hall Road, N.  
 †Bail, Sidney, and Mrs. Oona H., St. John's House, St. Giles, Oxford.  
 Banks, J. H., Ald., Sec. L.R.C., 67, Knapp Road, Bromley, E.  
 Banton, Geo., T.C., Housing, 19, St. Margaret Street, Leicester.  
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 †Barlow, John H., Sec. Village Trust, Bournville, Birmingham.  
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 Barnett, F. Gilmour, 7, Great George Street, Bristol.  
 Barrett, Rosa M., Pres. I.W.T.U., 6, De Vesci Ter., Kingstown, Dublin.  
 \*Barrett, R. A., I.L.P., T.C., 94, Bentinck Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.  
 Barrett, Rhid., Civil Serv. Abstractors, 9, Lindal Rd., Brockley, S.E.  
 Barrow, Harrison, T.C., Housing, Lawn House, Edgbaston, Birmingham.  
 Bartlett, W. W., Land Question, 53, Stamford Avenue, Brighton.  
 Bartley, Sir C. C. T., Penny banks, &c., 57, Victoria Street, S.W.  
 Batchelor, John, Bricklayers' Soc., 46, Southwark Bridge Road, S.E.  
 Battersby, Ex-Bailie, 139, Rutherglen Road, Glasgow.  
 †Bax, E. Belfort, S.D.F., National Liberal Club, S.W.  
 \*Beard, Jack, I.L.P., 15, Bennetts Road, Saltley, Birmingham.  
 †Beard, Sidney H., *Order of the Golden Age*, Barcombe Hall, Paignton.  
 Beechener, W. H., 18, Smith Street, Hanley.  
 Beesley, Prof. E. S., 21, West Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea.  
 Beeston, W. F., Toolmakers, 38, John Bright Street, Birmingham.  
 Begg, Wm. J., Anti-vaccination, Peace, 150, Hope Street, Glasgow.  
 Beicher, J. H., I.L.P. Lab Ch., 53, Peverell Park Road, Plymouth.  
 Beiderson, S. W., 43a, Bedford Road, Clapham Rise, S.W.  
 †Bell, Ernest, Humanitarian Publisher, Portugal Street, W.C.  
 \*Bell, Mrs. F. N. H., Co-op, I.L.P., 8, Hotspur Street, Heaton, Newcastle.  
 \*Bell, Richard, M.P., A.S.R.S., 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.  
 Belloc, Hilaire, M.P., 104, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.

- Belt, C., S.D.F., 33, Mall Road, Hammersmith, W.  
 †Benson, T. D., Treasurer National I.L.P., The Downs, Prestwich, M'chester. —  
 †Behrens, Lewis H., T.L.V., 8, Dawson Place, Pembridge Square, W.  
 †Berry, J. E., T.O., 234, Albert Road, Aston.  
 †Berry, W. H., Co-op. Workmen's Clubs, 10, Elmsdale Road, Walthamstow, E.  
 †Besant, Annie, c/o Theosophical Society, 28, Albemarle Street, W.  
 Bevan, J., L.R.C., T.C., 31, Caldmore Road, Walsall.  
 †Bickers, H. A., Sheridan, Hon. Org. Sec. N.D.L., 57, Chancery Lane, W.C.  
 †Biggs, John H., Patent Law Reform, Dove Cot., Storrs Park, Windermere.  
 Billington, Miss T., Org. W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.  
 Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine, M.P., 70, Elm Park Road, Chelsea.  
 Black, Miss Clementina, 90, Carlton Mansions, Portsdown Road, W.  
 †Bland, Hubert, F.S., *Sunday Chronicle*, Well Hall, Eltham, Kent.  
 Bland, Mrs. Hubert (Edith Nesbitt), Well Hall, Eltham, Kent.  
 †Blatchford, M. J., T.C., "Mont Blong" of *Clarion*, Park View, Halifax.  
 †Blatchford, Robert, "Nunquam," *Clarion* Office, 44, Worship Street, E.C.  
 Blatchford, Winnie, Sec. *Clarion* Cinderella, 44, Worship Street, E.C.  
 Blount, Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey, Peasant Arts Soc., Foundry Cot., Haslemere.  
 Blyth, Dr. A. Wynter, Housing, Sanitary Institute, 29, Norfolk Road, N.W.  
 †Bondfield, Miss M. C., S.A.U., 122, Gower Street, W.C.  
 Bonner, Arthur, Publisher, 1, Took's Court, Cursitor Street, E.C.  
 †Bonner, Hypatia Bradlaugh, 23, Streathbourne Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.  
 †Bonner, J. H., Anti-vac. lecturer and organiser, 50, Parliament St., S.W.  
 †Booth, Mrs. Alfred, N.U.W.W., W.L.A., 49, Ullet Road, Liverpool.  
 †Booth, Sir Chas., 24, Gt. Cumberland Place, W.  
 Booth, General, Salvation Army, 101, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.  
 Borland, M. Y., *Postal Clerks' Herald*, 199, Morris Green Lane, Bolton.  
 Bottle, C. E., Morris House, Waddon Station, Croydon.  
 †Bosanquet, Prof. and Mrs. Bernard, St. Andrew's University, N.B.  
 †Bourne, H. R. Fox, Aborigines Society, Broadway Cham., Westminster, S.W.  
 Bowerman, C. W., M.P., Ald. L.C.C., 4, Battledean Road, Highbury, N.  
 †Bowker, James, 101, Lansdowne Place, Hove, Brighton.  
 †Bowman, Guy, S.D.F., 37a, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.  
 Bowman, Mrs. M. R., New Reform Club, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.  
 Brace, W., M.P., Miners' Agent, Bryn Ivor, Abertillery.  
 Braddy, Miss E. D., 19, Linden Gardens, Bayswater, W.  
 †Brailsford, H. N., and Mrs., Macedonian gn., 32, Well Walk, Hampstead, N. —  
 †Bramley, Fred, *Clarion* Office, 44, Worship Street, E.C.  
 Branch, James, M.P., L.C.C., 24, Fountayne Road, Stoke Newington, N.  
 †Branford, V. V., M.A., Hon. Sec. Sociolog. Soc., 24, Buckingham St., W.C.  
 Bray, R. A., L.C.C., 10, Addington Square, Camberwell, S.E.  
 †Bremner, Robert L., M.A., Housing Lads' Clubs, 208, W. George St., Glasgow.  
 Briault, H. C., I.L.P., L.R.C., 6, Burlington Gardens, Acton.  
 Broadbank, R. W., B.G., D.C., I.L.P., 1, Bruce Grove, Tottenham, N.  
 †Broadbent, Albert, Vegetarian Society, 257, Deansgate, Manchester.  
 †Broadhurst, Henry, Cromer.  
 †Brockhouse, Harry, I.L.P., N.A.C., Lawn Side, Hill Top, West Bromwich.  
 Brodrick, T., Sec. C.W.S., Balloon Street, Manchester.  
 †Brooke, Miss Emma, c/o The Fabian Soc., 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.  
 †Brooke, Rev. Stoford A., 1, Manchester Square, W.  
 †Brooks, Rev. J. L., Director, Lingfield Training Colony, Lingfield, Surrey.  
 †Brown, Jas. C., Ed. *Postman's Gazette*, 125, Howard Street, Glasgow.  
 Brown, Richd., T.L.V., 22, Lish Av., Whitley Bay, R.S.O., Northumberland.  
 †Brown, W. Henry, Co-op., "Eversley," Hampton Road, Forest Gate, E.  
 Browne Morgan Jas., Miners' Sec., 56, Annbank by Ayr.  
 Browne, Hubert Morgan, Nat. Lib. Club, S.W.  
 Browne, Mrs. Morgan, Villa Piccariet, Mentone, France.  
 Browne, Miss Leigh, Women's questions, 58, Porchester Terrace, W.  
 Browning, Oscar, King's College, Cambridge.  
 †Brownlie, J. T., I.L.P., 6, Chancelot Road, Abbey Wood, Plumstead, S.E.  
 Bryan, T. A., Bournville, Birmingham.  
 †Bryce, Rt. Hon. Jas. and Mrs. E. M., M.P., and W.N.L.A., 54, Portland Pl., W.  
 Bullock, Miss, W.S.P.U., Adcett Cot., College St., Long Eaton.  
 Bunney, Miss M., Women's Liberal Federation, 124, Victoria Street, S.W.  
 Bunting, Percy, Ed. *Contemporary Review*, 11, Endsleigh Gardens, N.W.  
 †Burgess, Joseph, T.C., I.L.P., 33, Albert Drive, Crosshill, Glasgow.  
 Burgwin, Mrs., Supt. Sch. Defective Children, 147, Brixton Road, S.W.  
 †Burke, Thos., T.C., 32, Grosvenor Road, New Brighton.  
 †Burn, A. C., G.W.U., 14, Fabian Road, Fulham, S.W.  
 Burns, Dawson, D.D., Temperance, 12, Foxmore St., Battersea Park, S.W.



- \*Burns, John, Rt. Hon., L.C.C., M.P., 37, Lavender Gardens, Battersea, S.W.  
 †Burrows, Herbert, S.D.F., Sec. Matchm. U., 99, Sotheby Rd., H'bury Pk., N.  
 Burrows, Prof. R. M., F.S., 231, Habershon St., East Moors, Cardiff.  
 Burt, Peter, Single taxer, Acme Manufacturing Company, Ltd., Glasgow.  
 Burt, Thos., M.P., 20, Burdon Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 †Butler, Mrs. J., Abtln. of State Reguln. of Vice, 17, Tothill Street, S.W.  
 Butlin Miss F. M., Danish Holidays, Old Headington, Oxford.  
 Buttery, J. W., 21, Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E.  
 Buxton, C. Roden (Small holdings), 7, Kennington Terrace, S.E.  
 Buxton, Noel, Macedonian questions, 2, Princes Gate, S.W.  
 †Byles, W. P., M.P., and Mrs., Oakfield, Bradford.
- Cadbury, Edward, Westholme, Selly Oak, near Birmingham.  
 Cadbury, George, and Mrs., The Manor House, Northfield, Birmingham.  
 — Callie, J. W. S., Financial Reform, 18, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.  
 Calrd, Mona, Pioneer Club, 22, Bruton Street, Mayfair, W.  
 Campbell, Dugald, Soc. Sun. Schl. Supt., 26, Lyndhurst Gardens, Glasgow.  
 Campbell, Paul, and Mrs. H., 33, Howard Road, Walthamstow.  
 \*Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H., M.P., Downing Street, S.W.  
 Carille, Prebendary W. W., Church Army, 53, Bryanston Street, W.  
 Carlisle, Countess of, 1, Palace Green, Kensington, W.  
 †Carnegie, Andrew, Skibo Castle, Sutherland.  
 Carr, Phillio Comyns, 3, Old Palace Chambers, Whitehall, S.W.  
 — †Carpenter, Ed., *Towards Democracy*, Millthorpe, Holmesfield, Sheffield.  
 Carpenter, Rev. J. Estlin, Princ., M'chester Col., 109, Banbury Rd., Oxford.  
 Carson, George, S.W.E.C., 7, Garturk Street, Glasgow.  
 †Carter, Rev. J., C.S.U., Pusey House, Oxford.  
 Carruthers, A. G., 136, Bower Street, Bedford.  
 Catmur, Wm., People's Rights Assoc., 23, Terrace Road, S. Hackney, N.E.  
 Cave, A., Acting Ed. *Municipal Journal* 12, Salisbury Square, E.C.  
 \*Chambers, Tom, Maritime Hall, W. I. Dock Road, E.  
 Chant, Mrs. Ormiston, 49, Gower Street, W.C.  
 Charles, Frederic, *New International Review* Office, Oxford.  
 \*Charrington, Charles, Municipal Theatres, Beenham, near Reading.  
 \*Charrington, Mrs. C. (Janet Achurch), Beenham, near Reading.  
 \*Chatterton, Mrs. M., Org. W.S.P.U., 3, Mildred St., L'r. Broughton, M'ter.  
 Cheeseman, W. B., Sec. Fawcett Association, 55, Doughty Street, W.C.  
 Cheetham, Miss, Women's Settlement, 461, Barking Rd., Canning Town, E.  
 †Chesterton, C. K., 60, Overstrand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W.  
 †Chesterton, Cecil E., Anti-Puritan League, 11, Warwick Gardens, S.W.  
 \*Chew, Mrs. Ada Nellid, Women's employment, Sunnyside, Greave, Rochdale.  
 \*Christie, Geo. S., I.L.P., The Hawthornes, Beeston, Notts.  
 \*Chubb, Lawrence, Com. and Footpaths Pres. Soc., 25, Victoria Street, S.W.  
 †Clarke, C. Allen, *Northern Weekly* 17, Blackburn Road, Bolton.  
 \*Clarke, Ernest A., I.L.P., 179, Hornby Road, Bootle, Lancs.  
 Clarke, E. Dillon, I.L.P., 31, Caldmore Road, Walsall.  
 \*Clayton, Rev. F. M., G.S.M., St. John the Baptist's, Tilbury Dock, Essex.  
 †Clayton, Jos., Ed. *New Age* Prospect House, Holly Mount, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Cleland, J. W., M.P., L.C.C., 4, Harcourt Bldgs., Temple, E.C.  
 †Clifford, Dr. John, 25, Sutherland Terrace, Bayswater, W.  
 Clodd, Edward, 5, Princes Street, E.C.  
 — Clynnes, J. R., M.P., J.P., G.W.U., 176, Union Street, Oldham.  
 Coates, Walter, Lab. Colonies, 39, Wilson Street, E.C.  
 †Cochrane, Miss C., Rural Housing Reform, The Downs, St. Neots, Hunts.  
 †Cochrane, Miss C., Rural Housing Reform, The Downs, St. Neots, Hunts.  
 †Colt, Dr. Stanton, 30, Hyde Park Gate, S.W.  
 †Coleridge, Hon. Stephen, Anti-vivisection, 92, Victoria Street, S.W.  
 Collings, Miss, W.S.P.U., 10, Bury New Road, Bolton.  
 Collins, Sir W. J., M.P., L.C.C., 1, Albert Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.  
 †Collinson, Joseph, Humanitarian League, 53, Chancery Lane, W.C.  
 Conley, Jas., J.P., 28, Sutherland Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow.  
 \*Connell, A. K., Labour Assn., 22, Red Lion Square, W.C.  
 \*Connell, Jim, "The Red Flag," 115, Chancery Lane, W.C.  
 \*Conybeare, C. A. V., Oakfield Park, near Dartford, Kent.  
 Cooke, J., Sec. Ealing Tenants, Woodfield Road, Ealing.  
 Cooper, Ben, L.C.C., Cigar Makers, 60, Exmouth Street, Stepney, E.  
 Cope, C. C., 16, Somerset Terrace, Duke's Road, W.C.  
 Cope, B., Tr. C., 1, York Street, Walworth, S.E.  
 Cordersey, Mrs., W.S.P.U. (Bow and Poplar), 74, Devas Street, E.  
 †Cotgreave, Alfred, West Ham Public Librarian, Stratford, E.  
 Cotton, Sir Henry, M.P., Indian questions, 45, St. John's Wood Park, N.W.

- †**Courtney, Lord** (Leonard Courtney, M.P.), 15, Cheyne W., Chelsea, S.W.  
**Courtney, H.**, Ethics, Lab., 52, Goldstone Road, Hove, Sussex.  
**Craig, Mrs. Annie R.**, W.S.P.U., 1, Roundriding Road, Dumbarton.  
†**Crane, Walter**, Socialism and Art, 13, Holland Street, Kensington, W.  
**Creed, F. A.**, Land Law Reform Association, 21, John St., Adelphi, W.C.  
**Cremmer, W. Randal, M.P.**, Arbitration Leag., 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.  
**Crompton, Miss A.**, M.A., Art Museum & Un. Sett., Ancoats Hall, M'chester.  
**Crooke, Herbert**, Raja Yoga Inst., 91, Avenue Rd., Regent's Park, N.W.  
**Crook, W. M.**, Home Counties Liberal Fed., 42, Parliament Street, S.W.  
**Crooks, W.**, M.P., L.C.C., B.G., F.S., L.R.C., 81, Gough Square, Poplar, E.  
**Crosfield, Albert J.**, Clerk, Soc. of Friends, 12, Bishopsgate Without, S.E.  
†**Crosoer, Geo.**, Ed. *Land and Labour*, 39, Ickleford Road, Hitchin, Herts.  
†**Crotch, W. Walter**, F.S., Land Insurance Co., 57, Gracechurch Street, E.C.  
**Crouch, F. B.**, Sec. Peabody Don. Fund, 64, Queen Street, E.C.  
**Cullen, Mrs.**, W.S.P.U., 21, Campden House Road, Kensington, W.  
**Cummings, D. C.**, I.L.P., Boilermakers, Lifton Ho., Eslington Rd., N'castle.  
**Cunningham, W.**, Railway Nat'n., Dunfermline, N.B.  
**Curie, John, C.C.**, J.P., 133, Wells Road, Bristol.  
**Curran, Pete**, G.W.U., G.F.T.U., 1, Pretoria Av., Walthamstow, Essex.  
**Cutcliffe, Fred**, *New International Review Office*, Ifley Road, Oxford.  
**Cuttie, Geo.**, T.L.V., 8, Gordon Road, Wanstead, Essex.
- †**Dakers, A. W.**, B.A., T.L.V., 33, Meldon Ter., Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
**Dalley, W. A.**, O.A.P. Committee, 6, Link Rd., Edgbaston, Birmingham.  
**Daniel, C. W.**, Christian Anarchist, 11, Cursitor Street, E.C.  
**Darby, A. H.**, B.C., 49, Gough Street, Poplar, E.  
†**Darby, W. Evans**, L.L.D., Sec. Peace Society, 47, New Broad Street, E.C.  
**Davenport, Geo.**, 128, Barton Lane, Eccles, Lancs.  
†**Davidson, John, I.L.P.**, 202, Burrage Road, Plumstead, S.E.  
†**Davidson, J. Morrison**, Reformer, 56, Marmora Road, Honor Oak, S.E.  
**Davidson, Mrs.**, Co-operative Store, High Street, Camden Town, N.W.  
†**Davies, Crompton Ll.**, T.L.V., 14, Barton Street, Westminster, S.W.  
**Davis, W. J.**, J.P., Brass Workers, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.  
**Dawson, Chas. E.**, artist, 88-90, Chancery Lane, W.C.  
†**"Dawson, Julia"** (of *Clarion*), Wallasey, Cheshire.  
**Dawson, W. H.**, The Knowle, Skipton.  
**Day, Herbert A.**, T.C., F.S., "Woodhurst," Newmarket Road, Norwich.  
†**Dearmer, Rev. P.**, Sec. C.S.U., F.S., G.S.M., 102, Adelaide Road, N.W.  
†**De Cackowski, Harold**, S.D.F., 37a, Clerkenwell Green, W.C.  
†**Dent, J. J.**, Workmen's Clubs, 60, Knatchbull Road, Camberwell, S.E.  
**Deering, D.**, Sec. T.C., 13a, Totland Road, Brighton.  
**Despard, Mrs.**, 2, Currie Street, Nine Elms, S.W.  
**Devine, Hy. C.**, U. Co-op. Banks Assn., 39, Victoria Street, S.W.  
**Dew, Geo.**, L.C.C., L.P. Cand. (Workmen's trains), 254, Milkwood Road, S.E.  
†**Diack, William**, Glebe Cottage, High Street, Old Aberdeen.  
†**Dilke, Sir Chas. W.**, M.P., 76, Sloane Street, S.W.  
†**Dodd, F. Lawson**, F.S., 41, Wimpole Street, W., and Tunbridge Wells.  
**Dodd, J. Theodore**, C.C., Poor Law, 55, St. Giles, Oxford.  
†**Dodgson, W. J.**, B.C., *Star Office*, Workington.  
†**Donald, Robert**, Ed. *Daily Chronicle*, 31 to 34, Whitefriars Street, E.C.  
**Doubt, A. C.**, Glenthorpe House, Albert Park, Bristol.  
**Douglas, H. P.**, Sec. Mr. F.S., 12, Crofton Street, Rusholme, Manchester.  
**Drinkwater, Hy.**, I.L.P., Citizens' Auditor, Franklin Street, Halifax.  
†**Drummond, Mrs. Flora**, Org. W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.  
**Drysdale, Dr.**, 28, Carson Road, E. Dulwich.  
**Duchesne, E.**, Supt. Working-men's College, Crowndale Road, N.W.  
†**Duffy, T. Gavan**, 11, Westmoreland Street, Skipton.  
†**Duncan, Charles**, M.P., Sec. W.U., 16, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, N.  
†**Durrant, Charles**, 26, Douglas Road, Kilburn, N.W.  
†**Duxbury, Mrs. A.**, W.S.P.U., 7, Langham Road, Blackburn.  
†**Dyer, Herbert**, Clerks' Union, 1, East Parade, Leeds.
- Earengay, Mrs. B.A.**, W.S.P.U., 3, Wellington Square, Cheltenham.  
†**Eastwood, H. Cladstone**, I.L.P., S.D.F., 43, Station Terrace, Bramley, Leeds.  
†**Edgworth, Prof. F. Y.**, All Souls' College, Oxford.  
†**Edwards, Clement**, M.P., 4, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.  
†**Edwards, Enoch**, M.P., Miners' Offices, Burslem.  
†**Edwards, John**, Housing, F.S., I.L.P., Darley Dr., Eaton Rd., W. Derby, L'pool.  
†**Edwards, John Passmore**, Libraries, 5, Orme Square, Bayswater, W.  
†**Edwards, Joseph**, *Reformers' Year Book*, 21, Palace Square, Norwood, S.E.  
†**Edwards, Walt. N.**, F.C.S., Hygiene, Temp., 6, Shardscroft Av., Herne H., S.E.

- \*Elderkin, Arthur E., The Promenade, Watford, Herts.  
 Elkington, F. Pellatt, Lab. Inst., F.S., I.L.P., S.D.F., 25, Pantan St., S.W.  
 Ellis, Arthur, F.S., 107, Ashbourne Road, Fulwood Park, Liverpool.  
 Elvin, H. A., Clerks' Union, Hills Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.  
 \*Elliot, Harold, 43, Raby Street, Moss Side, Manchester.  
 †Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. Havelock, Carbis Water, Lelant, Cornwall.  
 †Elmy, Mrs. Elizabeth C. W., Women's questions, Buxton House, Congleton.  
 †Ensor, R. C. K., 49, Ontario Buildings, Preston Road, Poplar, E.  
 Erskine, James, M.A., M.B., 351 Bath Street, Glasgow.  
 \*Escreet, Ven. Archdeacon, G.S.M., The Rectory, Woolwich, S.E.  
 \*Evans, Wm., T.C., S.D.F., 68, Brading Road, Brighton.  
 \*Evans, Fdk. H., 34 Foxhill, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 †Evans, Howard, Liberation Society, 2, Serjeant's Inn Fleet Street, E.C.  
 †Evans, Richardson, Advt. abuses, The Keir, Wimbledon Common, S.W.  
 Ewer, A., Sec. Elec. Trades Union, Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Rd., E.C.  
 Fahy, Francis H., Pres. G.L., Lond., 77, Fleet Street, E.C.  
 †Fairbairn, Dr. A. M., Principal Mansfield College, Oxford.  
 \*Fairchild, E. C., S.D.F., 9, Stamford Road, Eaglefield Road East, N.  
 Fairlie, Jas., T.C., Land Values, Kinneil, Falkirk.  
 †Fallows, J. A., M.A., F.S., Danehurst, 22, Redington Road, Hampstead.  
 Farrell, Robert W., B.C., Merriion, Thornford Road, Lewisham Park, S.E.  
 Fathers, T., D.C., A.S.E., 39, Blackford, Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham.  
 Fels, Joseph, and Mrs., F.S., Labour Colonies, Elmwood, Bickley, Kent.  
 Fenwick, Charles, M.P., 14, Tankerville Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 Field, W., N.A.C., 73, Malefant Street, Cardiff.  
 †Fifield, Arthur C., Ed. *The Simple Life* Press, 44, Fleet Street, E.C.  
 †Fisher, F. Victor, 49, College Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.  
 FitzHerbert, Miss, W.S.P.U., 9, Cambridge Mansions, Battersea, S.W.  
 Fitzpatrick, Paul, Old Age Pensions, 17, Lone Street, South Shields.  
 †Fletcher, A. E., 6, Flodden Road, Camberwell, S.E.  
 †Foot, Geo. W., Ed. *Freethinker*, 2, Newcastle Street, Farringdon St., E.C.  
 \*Ford, Miss. Isabella O., N.A.C., I.L.P., P.C., Adel Grange, Leeds.  
 \*Foster, David B., 39, Stratford Street, Leeds.  
 \*Fox, A., Enginemen, L.P. Cand. S. Leeds, 33, Spencer Place, Leeds.  
 \*Fox, Tom, I.L.P., 44, Grosvenor Street, C-on-M., Manchester.  
 †Foxwell, Prof. H. S., M.A., Pol. Economy, 1, Harvey Road, Cambridge.  
 Frankland, G., Chippenham, Bucks.  
 \*Fraser, Miss Helen, W.S.P.U., 114, West Campbell Street, Glasgow.  
 \*Fuller, H. A., Met. Radical Fedn., 160, Ball's Pond Road, N.
- †Gales, Edwin L., C.C., *The Beacon*, 14, Pierrepont Street, Bath.  
 Galloway, Geo., Pensions, 15, Houston Street Glasgow.  
 †Galt, F. W., L.R.U., Trafalgar Buildings, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.  
 Gane, Charles, Anti-Vaccination League, 50, Parliament Street, S.W.  
 Gardner, W., Kelmscott Soc. Club, 106, Shepherds Bush Road, W.  
 Gardner, W. B., Sec. Scott. All. for Tem. & Soc. Ref., Moss View, Carnforth.  
 †Gardiner, Alfred G., Ed. *Daily News*, Bouverie Street, E.C.  
 Garland, Charles H., Sec. P.O. Sanatorium, 7, Elm Bank Gardens, Barnes.  
 Garnett, Dr. W., L.C.C., The Wabe, West Heath, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Garrity, Edw., Sec. M.R.F., Accrington House, 4, Hall St., City Rd., E.C.  
 †Gaskell, G. S., and Mrs. Ellen S., F.S., 10, Ditchling Road, Brighton.  
 Gautrey, J. D., L.C.C., Progressive Whip, 21, Kensington Terrace, S.E.  
 †Gavin, D., Ed. *Spiritualist*, 79, Greenhill Lane, Bradford.  
 †Gawthorpe, Miss Mary E., W.S.P.U., 9, Warrel's Mount, Bramley, nr. Leeds.  
 Geake, Charles, Hon. sec. Lib. Pub. Dept., 42, Parliament Street, S.W.  
 †Geddes, Prof. Patrick, The University, Dundee.  
 \*Gee, Wm., S.D.F., Club, Newlands, Northampton.  
 Chent, W. J., 112, East 19th Street, New York City, U.S.A.  
 †Gibbins, Rev. H. de B., M.A., Woodfield, Kidderminster.  
 †Gilchrist, Alexr., J.P., F.S., I.L.P., 7, Queen Mary Av., Crosshill, Glasgow.  
 Gilmour, D., Miners' Sec., Bent Road, Hamilton, Lanarkshire.  
 Gili, A. H., M.P., J.P. Spinners, 61, Hampden Street, Bolton.  
 \*Gillespie, Hugh R., Ethics and Socm., 197, Albert Road, Sheffield.  
 †Gilliard, R. S., 587, Stapleton Road, Lower Eastville, Bristol.  
 †Girdlestone, E. D., B.A., "Culvercot," Victoria Road, Sutton Coldfield.  
 Givan, Robt., Scott. Tr. Un. Congress, 49, Kelvininside Avenue, Glasgow.  
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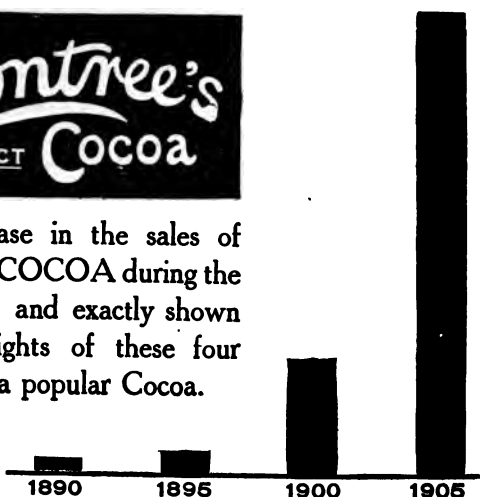
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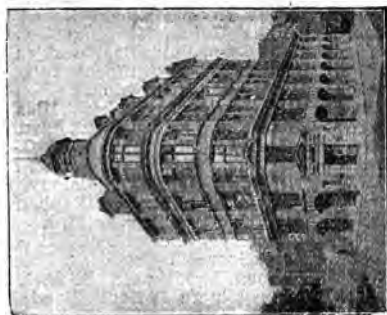
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## THE AUTUMN SITTING OF PARLIAMENT

THE House of Commons reassembled for the Autumn Sitting on Tuesday October 23rd, and during the interval between that date and November 1st when *The Reformers' Year Book* goes to press, the following progress has been made.

### Plural Voting Bill.

The Committee stage was taken during the first week, October 24th to 30th, and no serious amendment was carried to the original Bill.

### Trade Disputes Bill.

The Report stage of this measure was taken November 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. No serious amendments were carried to the earlier clauses of the Bill. Clause 2 (picketing) the Conservative Opposition made a strenuous effort to weaken the wording; but their amendment was defeated by the overwhelming majority of 317 to 44. On Clause 4 (the liability of Trade Unions), a number of amendments were carried which made the intention of the Bill more definite and more adequately protected the funds of Trade Unions than the wording of the clause as amended in Committee. In this form, which was quite satisfactory to the Labour Party, the Bill was read a third time on November 12th and went up to the House of Lords, when it was read a first time on November 12th.

### Education Bill.

This measure has been dealt with drastically by the House of Lords, Bishops carrying amendments getting rid of the four-fifths clause, insisting upon religious tests for teachers, and limiting the powers of Local Authorities in dealing with the schools under their jurisdiction. The ultimate fate of the measure is very uncertain.

### Chinese Labour.

In both Houses there have been debates on the moral conditions of the Chinese in the compounds, based on the evidence of Mr. Consul Bucknill's report, of which though unpublished, some salient facts were known. In the Commons, Mr. Lehmann moved the adjournment of the House on November 15th, demanding the immediate repatriation of the Coolies. Mr. Winston Churchill, on behalf of the Government, made an evasive answer.

### Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

On November 7th, Keir Hardie introduced a one-clause Bill to do away with the sex disqualification for the franchise. Campbell-Bannerman said he had never stated that the Government would not deal with this question during the present Parliament. The first reading was carried, and the second Reading put down for November 14th, but as Mr. Bertram declared himself an opponent, and as the Government refused to "star" the Bill, no further progress was made.

Oct. 23.—Re-opening for the Autumn Sitting.

.. 24-31.—Plural Voting Bill through Committee.

Nov. 1, 2, 5.—Trades Disputes Bill through Report; Shackleton.

.. 6, 7, 8.—Land Tenure Bill considered on the Report stage.

.. Women's Enfranchisement Bill, 1st reading; Keir Hardie.

.. 9.—Trades Disputes Bill read a 3rd time; Shackleton.

.. 12, 13, 14.—Land Tenure Bill passed through Report.

.. 15.—Chinese labour and Consul Bucknill's report.

.. 16.—Merchant Shipping Bill passed through Report.

.. 19, 20, 21.—Irish Town Tenants' Bill.

.. 22.—Merchant Shipping Bill read a 3rd time.

.. 23.—Land Tenure Bill; 3rd reading.

\* For the Summer Sitting and Chronology see pp. 63-75.



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